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## EGYPTIAN

## HIERATIC TEXTS

TRANSCRIBED, TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED

BY

## ALAN H. GARDINER D. LITT.

 LAYCOCK STUDENT OF EGYPTOLOGY AT WORCESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD
# SERIES I: LITERARY TEXTS OF THE NEW KINGDOM 

PART I

THE PAPYRUS ANASTASI I AND THE PAPYRUS KOLLER, TOGETHER WITH THE PARALLEL TEXTS


## PROVISIONAL PREFATORY NOTICE

The following extracts from the Prospectus in which the present work is announced will explain its scope and arrangement:-
"It is proposed to divide the whole material into a number of series, each dealing with a different class of text: the first series will contain Literary Texts, the subject of the second will be Magical Texts; other series will be devoted to Business Documents, Furistic Texts, Letters, etc. Every series will comprise a certain number of parts, each of which will be complete in itself, containing one or more entire texts, together with bibliographical introductions, translations and notes. When a sufficient number of parts in any series has been issued, a volume will be concluded; the separate volumes will include full indices to the words discussed in the notes, and to personal, royal and geographical names; and the numbering of the pages will be so arranged that the printed portion containing the translations and introductions, and the autographed portion containing the text, may be bound up separately.
"In the autographed portion, the left-hand page will contain the hieroglyphic transscript, while the palaeographical comments will occupy the opposite page. The direction and mutual position of the signs in the original will be retained in the transcript, in order to facilitate comparison with the hieratic. For economy of space and for other reasons the text will not be split up into sentences; nor will the restoration of lacunae be undertaken beyond a limited extent. Where more than one manuscript is preserved, the parallel texts will be reproduced in extenso side by side. It need hardly be said that the series aims at the most exemplary accuracy, particularly in the establishment of the text, the originals having been diligently collated in almost every case.
"The printed portion will consist of bibliographical introductions, complete English translations, and such philological notes, with abundant references, as can be given without the use of hieroglyphic type. In the preparation of the translations all previous renderings will be carefully compared, so that no earlier suggestions of value may be ignored. The translations will err rather on the side of literalness than on that of freedom, but the notes will supply a certain corrective in the way of paraphrases and explanations of passages where the English rendering is obscure."

Title-pages, Preface and Indices will follow later at the conclusion of Volume I.
For the immediate convenience of the reader the following facts should be noted. The printed portion of the work is separately paged with numbers accompanied by asterisks ( $\mathrm{I}^{*}, 2^{*}, 3^{*}$ ), and in seeking cross-references in the foot-notes this fact is strictly to be borne in mind. Such references as p. 5 , line 9 , or p. 5 a, note IId refer to the autographed text and to the autographed notes accompanying the same; and the page-numbers thus alluded to are those that will be found following the words Lit. Texts at the top right-hand corner of the autographed pages; the numbers at the bottom of the autographed pages will be omitted in subsequent parts, and should be disregarded altogether. The double mode of pagination has been adopted in order that the printed and autographed portions may later be bound up separately.

The references to Egyptological literature are given in the forms commonly used in Egyptological books. The Semitic scholar should note that Max MÜller, As. u. Eur: = W. Max Mülier, Asien und Europa nach Altägyptischen Denkmälern, Leipzig 1893; and that BURCH. stands for MAX BURCHARDT, Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen: zueeiter (Schluss-) Teil, Listen der syllabisch geschriebenen Worte, Leipzig 1910.

For the the transcription of Egyptian words the symnls used in the grammar of A. Erman have been retained, excent ©

## I. A satirical letter.

Sources of the text. I. The Papyrus Anastasi I (Pap. Brit. Aurs. Ioz,7) was purchased for the British Museum in I839 from Signor Anastasi, the Swedish Consul in Egypt. It measures $81 / 4$ metres in length; its height is 20.5 cm ., i. e. it is of the normal height of literary papyri of the second Theban period. Both in respect ofsize and of calligraphy the papyrus is one of the finest specimens of a Ramesside book. The text, written upon the horizontal fibres, comprises 28 pages of 8 or 9 lines apiece; at the beginning there is a protecting strip of 10.5 cm . The verso is uninscribed, save for a few large illegible signs at the back of the 19 th. page. The papyrus contains but a single composition, which is complete except for the losses caused by lacunae; these are very abundant, especially in the earlier pages. The composition is divided into nineteen paragraphs, of which the first words are always written in red. Verse-points occur on the 9 th. and ioth. pages. Corrections are to be found here and there; one written at the top of page 3 is probably due to a teacher's hand. The type of handwriting is closely similar to, but not identical with, that of Ennene, the scribe to whose industry we owe several of the finest of the London hieratic papyri. The papyrus Anastasi $I$ may therefore be dated with approximate accuracy to the reign of Sethos II (see Möller, Paläographie II it) ${ }^{1}$. A good hand-facsimile by J. Netherclift is published in the Select Papyri in the hieratic character from the collections of the British Musenm, London 1842, plates XXXV-LXII². In Chabas' book Le Voyage d'un Egyptien the plates, comprising Anast. I8; 18,3-8; 19 to 28, seem to have been merely reproduced from the official publication. - The transcript here given is based on that made by K. Sethe for the purposes of the Berlin hieroglyphic dictionary; this has been diligently collated with the original on several separate occasions ${ }^{3}$.
2. Ostracon belonging to Professor Petrie (abbreviated O. P.). A slab of limestone $2 \mathrm{I} \times 26 \mathrm{~cm}$., containing a half-obliterated duplicate of Anast. $I \mathrm{I}, \mathrm{I}-4$ with some additions. Unpublished.
3. Ostracon in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (abbrev. O.B.N.), a limestone tablet containing Anast. $I$ I, $6-2,6$ with numerous variants and additions. Published by W. Spiegelberg, Beiträge sur Erklärung des Papyrus Anastasi I in the Zeitschrift fiir ägyptische Spracke 44 (1908), 119-122 and Tafel V. VI, with (1) a photograph of the stone in its present much deteriorated condition, (2) a hand-copy of the hieratic made in 1892, and (3) a hieroglyphic transcription. My text is based on a comparison of these materials.
4. Ostracon in the Brussels collection (abbrev. O. Br.), a broken potsherd containing portions of Anast. $I_{2}, \mathrm{I}-5$ and closely following the ostracon of the Bibliothèque

[^0]Gardiner.

Nationale in its text. Published here for the first time from a photograph and a transcription provided by Professor Spiegelberg ${ }^{1}$.
5. Ostracon in the Library of Queen's College, Oxford (abbrev. O. Q. C.), a limestone fragment measuring $17,5 \times 13 \mathrm{~cm}$., containing the text of Anast. $I$ 3,4-4,1 with sundry additions. Brought back from Egypt by Belzoni. Hitherto unpublished.
6. Ostracon in the Turin Museum (abbrev. O. T.), a duplicate of Anast. $I 6,5-7,3$, on a fragment of limestone measuring $21 \times 18 \mathrm{~cm}$. Published Piefte-Rossi, Papyrus de Turin, plate CXLIX. Collated with the original.
7. Ostracon in the Louvre (abbrev. O. L.), a potsherd neatly inscribed with the text of Anast. I 8,3-9,2. An admirable facsimile is given by J. de Horrack, Sur uut ostracou du AInsce duLouvve in the Zeitschrift fïr ägyptische Sprache 6 (i868), 1-6, reprinted in the Bibliothèque Egyptologique t. 17, p. 60-69. Here transcribed from the publication.
8. Ostracon Cailliaud (abbrev. O. C.), one of several inscribed fragments of limestone described as "trouvés dans les hypogées de Gournah à Thèbes", containing the same passage as the Louvre ostracon in a slightly inferior but closely related version. At the end there is a mention of the Vizier To', who lived in the reign of Rameses III. An adequate facsimile is given in Frédéric Caliliald, Voyage à lOasis de Thébes (deuxième partie, Paris 1862), pl. 25, no. 1; and thence Chabas, op. cit., pl. 12. Transcribed from the publications.
9. Ostracon in the Berlin collection (abbrev. O. B.), a potsherd (P. if 236) containing the text of Anast. $I 9,9-10,4$, but with extensive lacunae. A small fragment of this potsherd which was acquired for the Leipzig collection together with other ostraca has now been joined to the larger portion in Berlin. Published in Hicratische Papyrus aus douköniglichell Museen zu Berliu, Bd. III, Tafel 28. My transcript is made from the original.
io. Papyrus in the Turin Museum (abbrev. P. T.), a badly-written palimpsest, 21 cm . in height and 45 cm . in breadth, bearing upon the recto, i. e. upon the horizontal fibres, a duplicate of Anast. $I$ 12,6-15,1. The arerso gives the full titulature of Rameses IV. Published in facsimile Pleyte-Rossi, l'apyrus de Turin, pl. 62 (the terso, pl. 63). Collated for the present edition with the original.

Bibliographical notice. The third and last instalment (1844) of the Select Papyri (first series) contains some prefatory remarks, by Samuel BrRCII, on the manuscripts comprised in the entire work. Here we find Anastasi $I$ characterised as a "continuous series of statements made apparently by a royal scribe in command of the troops", and the various paragraphs into which the papyrus is divided are briefly and somewhat vaguely summarized. Some years later Dr. Hincks set himself to study the foreign place-names in the latter portions of the text, and in the Trausactions of the Royal Irish Acadcmy for 1848 was able to announce the discovery of the names of Berytus, Sidon and Sarepta. Consecutive translations, by Dr. BrRcrI, of certain passages interesting for their geographical data were embodied in a paper entitled Rephaim aud their councxion avith Figyptian History', which Miss Fanny Corbaux published in the Fournal of Sacred Literature for January 1852. In H. Brugsch's volume Die Geographic der Nachbarländer Acgyptens (Geographische Iuschviften altägyptischerDenkmäler, zweiter Band, Leipzig 1858) constant reference is made to our papyrus, and many of the Syrian towns mentioned in it are brilliantly identified. A remarkable attempt to cope with the difficulties of the text was next made by Goodwin in his epoch-making article on Hieratic Papyri in the Cambuidge Essays of 185 ; Goodwn not only gives a short analysis of the entire composition from beginning to end, but also translates a considerable part of the last ten pages, often with astonishing accuracy and success. It is hardly to be wondered at if at this stage the literary tendency of the document was not yet recognized; Goodwin

1) ! am greatly indebted to M. Capart for calling my attention to this ostracon and giving me permission to publish it; and to Prof. Spiegelberg for surrendering his prior claim in my favour.
pronounced it to be the "biographical memoir of a scribe, written by his pupil, and addressed to the object of the memoir himself." Much the same view was taken by François Chabas in his justly celebrated work Voyage d'un Egyption en Syrie, en I'hénicic, cn Palestine, \&̛o; au XIV me siccle azant notre ire, published with Goodwin's collaboration in I866. The book, a bulky quarto, is chiefly concerned with the last ten pages of the papyrus, which Cifabas regarded as the authentic narrative of a voyage in Syria retold to the scribe who had undertaken it by his pupil. This portion of the text is dealt with in great detail, the translation being accompanied by an elaborate philological commentary. For the earlier parts of the papyrus Chabas is content to give translations or abstracts of the sense, though allowing himself occasional digressions on linguistic points. The importance of the book as a contribution to Egyptian philology was at the time of its appearance very considerable, its renderings marking a great advance on what had thitherto been achieved. Cinabas' conception of the text as a whole is superior to that of Goodwin only in the recognition of the fact that the writer here and there complains of his correspondent's style, and when attacked defends himself against the latter's scathing comments. An ill-tempered review of Cilabas' magnmm opus was printed by Brugsch in the Revue Critique of $1867^{1}$, and led to an acrimonious controversy between the two scholars. Cilabas' Réponse ì la Critique (Chalon-sur-Saône and Paris, iS6S; recently reprinted in Bibliothique Egyptologique, tome II, p. 203-340) is not wholly lacking in scientific interest, but contains a preponderance of recrimination hardly to be excused by the fact that it certainly was not unprovoked. BruGSCh's critique had the merit of showing the voyage recounted in the papyrus in a much truer perspective than theretofore; it was now seen to be no authentic relation of travels in Syria, but an imaginative picture of the perils attendant on such travels, the object being, as BrUGSCH thought, to deter the colleague addressed from fancying himself equal to heroic enterprises of the kind. ${ }^{2}$ This approximates very closely to the view of the text that is now accepted. In a pamphlet which appeared in 1868 F . J. Lauth, sought to prove that the Mohar, i. e. the Egyptian traveller whose adventures in Syria are described in Anastasi $I$, was none other than the biblical Moses (Moses der Ebräer nach zaci ägyptischen Papyrus-Urkumden in hieratischer Scheriftart, München, I868). This hypothesis, which was principally based on Anast. I IS, 2, has deservedly passed into oblivion, but the book merits more attention than it has received on account of the complete translations of Anastasi I and Pap. Leiden 350 (recto) contained in its appendices; here LaUth shows himself, according to his wont, as enterprising, acute, and unsound. Considerable portions of the first ten pages of the papyrus were translated by Maspero in his thesis $D_{n \prime}$ Genre épistolaire chez les anciens Egyptiens (Paris IS72), p. IO6-1I4. For thirteen years after this no event of importance has to be recorded in the bibliographical history of the papyrus. An English version of Chabas' and Goodiwin's translation by S. M. Dracil was printed in the Records of the Past (first series, no date) vol. 2, p. IO7-II6 under the title Traaels of an Egyptian. A fragmentary papyrus in Turin and an ostracon in the Louvre were recognized as containing portions of the text of Anastasi $I$; an ostracon practically identical with that in the Louvre had long since been published by Cailliald and used in Chabas' book. ${ }^{3}$ In 1885 Adolf Erman's work Aegypten und ägyptisches Leben appeared, shedding new light on almost every province of Egypto-

[^1]3) See above under the heading Sources of the Text for particulars as to the publication of these duplicates.
logical science. Here the first Anastasi papyrus obtained its due in the shape of an admirable analysis interspersed with translations (p. 508-5I3); and the real subject of the book was lucidly and convincingly proved to be a literary controversy between two scribes, the form adopted being that of a letter pretending to be the answer to an ill-worded and pretentious communication. Ermax's general interpretation requires hardly any modification today, and his translations need but little change, though naturally the latter embrace only the more easily intelligible and picturesque passages.

For the past five and twenty years no new edition or translation has to be noted, so that for complete, or nearly complete, renderings of the papyrus recourse must still be had to the works of Chabas and Lauth. A hieroglyphic transcription of Anast. $I$ 18,3 to 28,8 (the voyage) is given in E. A. IV. Bunge's Egyptian Reading Book (1888) p. 157-169, and in the larger edition of the same work (1896) p. 274-294. The geographical problems are minutely discussed in W. Max Müller's Asien und Europa nach altägryptischen Denkmälern (i893), particularly pp. 172-175. MASPERO has dealt with two passages of the voyage in his articles Entre Foppi et Mageddo in the Études . . . dédiées à M. le Dr. C. Leemans, p. 4-6; and Notes sur la giographie égyptienne de la Syrie, III in the Recueil de Travaux 19, 68-73; Spiegelberg has given a rendering of, and commentary on, 9,4-10,6 under the title Eine Probe der ägyptischen persönlichen Satire in his Beiträge zur Erklärung des Papyrus Anastasi I (Ä. Z. 44 [1908], I18-125). A fine ostracon belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and supplementing the beginning of the papyrus is also published in the last-named article.

General remarks. The composition contained in the first Anastasi papyrus was written certainly not earlier, but probably also not later, than the reign of Rameses II, the name of that king occurring in several passages ( 12,$3 ; 18,8: 27,3.5$ ). Of the ten ostraca and papyri preserving greater or less portions of the text none is of more recent date than about the middle of the 20th. Dynasty; and this quite unusual number of manuscripts, scattered over so brief a period, bears eloquent testimony to the popularity which the work enjoyed in the Ramesside schools. Nor is its popularity hard to explain, if the standards of taste current in those times are carefully borne in mind. In the first place the theme upon which the entire composition turns is the profession of the scribe, and no lesson was more assiduously instilled into the mind of the Egyptian schoolboy than the belief in the dignity and the advantages of that career. Thus from one aspect Anastasi $I$ ought to be regarded as akin to the numerous effusions in which the student is bidden apply himself diligently to the art of writing ${ }^{1}$, or where other occupations are invidiously compared with the labours of the scribe ${ }^{2}$. Secondly its wealth of topics and consequent variety of vocabulary must have given the text particular value as a model of style and as a means of teaching orthography. The abundant use made of foreign words and the display of erudition with regard to outlandish place-names agree well with what we know of the predilections of the age ${ }^{3}$. Lastly, the good-humoured raillcry which is the dominant note of the papyrus springs from one of most attractive sides of the Egyptian temperament. Hints of the Egyptian's love of repartee and appreciation of irony may be found in the snatches of conversation written above the scenes on the walls of tombs, or in the paintings and sculptures themselves, or in the rare caricatures that have survived, and samples are to be found here and there in the literature ${ }^{4}$; but nowhere are these attributes more strikingly illustrated than in

1) Sce Erman, Aegypien p. 442 foll.
2) E. g. Anast. IV 9, 4 foll.
3) See Erman, Aegypien p. 683.
4) See especially the letter Pap. Bibl. Nat. 198, 2 published by Spiegelberg, Correspondances du Temps des Rois-Prêtres p. 68-74.

Ancastasi I. If it must be confessed that the quality of the wit is poor, and that the satirical vein is intolerably insistent, still, that a Ramesside author should so well have understood to use language in a way not immediately suggested by its plain face-value is an achievement to be respected.

The whole character of the book would make it impossible to translate satisfactorily into any modern language, even if its vocabulary were more familiar to us. As it is, our ignorance of many of the actual words often leaves the sense totally obscure; and the difficulties are further increased by the frequency of the lacunae and by the textual corruptions. In the rare cases where more than two manuscripts are preserved Anastasi $I$ is as a rule found to stand alone in its readings; the Brussels ostracon agrees closely with that of the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Cailliaud ostracon still more closely with that of the Louvre. Possibly the reason may be that Anastasi $I$ is a Memphitic text ${ }^{1}$, whereas the ostraca without exception are of Theban provenance. Perhaps of all the sources the Louvre ostracon has the least corrupt text; the most corrupt is certainly the Turin papyrus. As for Anastasi $I$, in many passages it is obviously in error (see for a particularly glaring case 4,3); but it would not be wise in the present state of our knowledge to pronounce a very definite verdict on the degree of its inaccuracy. The language is similar to that of other literary texts of the period, i. e. a mixture between the vulgar spoken dialect and the old classical style.

The argument. (I) The scribe Hori, a man of great erudition and celebrity, employed in the Royal stables, (II) writes to his friend the scribe Amenemope, (III) wishing him all prosperity in this world and all happiness in the next. (IV) Hori writes to say that his friend's letter reached him at a moment of leisure; his joy at its reception was lessened by a perusal of the contents, which appeared to him to be very mediocre. (V) In spite of his having called many helpers to his aid, Amenemope has contrived to make a bad job of the commission he was called upon to perform. (VI) Hori will now reply in a letter of the same kind, and will excel Amenemope at every point, dealing with the very same topics. At the outset Amenemope has had the discourtesy to omit the usual salutations. (VII) He has also expressed his contempt of Hori's ability. The latter replies ironically, naming various persons who have attained to positions of ease and wealth in spite of some ludicrous moral or physical defect; the exact point of the answer is not clear. (VIII) Hori goes on to poke fun at his friend's pretensions to learning and ends by advising him not to meddle with ancient lore. (IX) Accused of having no right to his title of scribe, Hori refers Amenemope to the official registers. (X) An obscure competition between the rivals. (XI) Again accused of being no true scribe, Hori asks that the god Onuris shall be appealed to as arbiter. (XII) When commanded to undertake any difficult calculation, Amenemope either turns to others for advice, or else fails to give any answer; this is illustrated by several examples, the building of a ramp, (XIII) the transport of an obelisk, (XIV) the erection of a colossus, and (XV) the furnishing of supplies for the troops on a foreign military expedition. (XVI) Amenemope has laid claim to the title of Maher; Hori replies by enumerating a number of places in Northern Syria never visited by Amenemope, and an imaginary picture of the latter enduring the discomforts of the Maher's life is conjured up. (XVII) Amenemope is questioned as to the towns of Phoenicia (XVIII) and as to the towns further southwards. (XIX) Sundry other places frequented by the Maher are named, and Amenemope is imagined as experiencing the adventures of the Maher's life - the traversing of a precipitous region, the danger from wild beasts, the breaking of the chariot, the arrival at Joppa, and finally the repairing of the chariot and the start on a new journey: (XX) Hori cross-examines his friend as to the places on the high-road to Gaza, and finds him totally ignorant of them.
i) See above p. 1*, footnote 1 .

He regards his own superiority as now fully proved, and bids Amenemope not to be angry but to listen coolly; in this way he too will learn to discourse about foreign parts and the incidents of travel.

## I. The rank and qualifications of the writer.

The scribe of noble parts, patient in discussion ${ }^{1}$, at whose utterances men rejoice when they are heard, skilled in the hieroglyphs; there is nothing he does not know. He is a champion in valour and in the art of Seshyt ${ }^{2}$; servant of the lord of Khmun ${ }^{3}$ in the ${ }^{4}$ hall of writing; assistant-teacher ${ }^{5}$ in the office of writing ${ }^{6}$. First of his companions, foremost of his fellows, prince of his contemporaries, without his peer. His merit is proved ${ }^{7}$ in every stripling. His hand goes forth $(: ?)^{8}$, his fingers magnify the young $(: \%)$. Noble, keen of wit ${ }^{9}$, adept $1,5$ in knowledge; fortunate because of it (?? $)^{10}$. Protecting himself by his good qualities; beloved in (men's) hearts, without being repelled (? ${ }^{11}$; men like to make a friend of him, they do not tire of him. Swift to inscribe ${ }^{12}$ empty rolls. Youthful, eminent of charm, pleasant of grace ${ }^{13}$. Unravelling the obscurities of the annals like him who made them ${ }^{14}$. All that goes forth from his mouth is steeped in honey ${ }^{15}$; the heart is refreshed with it as it were with medicine. Groom ${ }^{16}$ of his 2,1 Majesty, follower of the Sovereign, trainer of the steeds ${ }^{17}$ of the king, ardent cultivator ${ }^{18}$ of the stable ${ }^{19}$. The old man who doeth like him ${ }^{20}$ is beaten $(:)^{21}$. He

[^2]Mus. 29549. - Twt, a rare adjective meaning "pleasant" "delightful" or the like, cf. Cairo, Hymn to Amon 11,2; twe h 3 - $t$, epithet of Ptah, Mar., Dend. I 39c. 71; II 57 d : twi $\underset{\text { R }}{ }$ d epithet of Osiris, Rochem., Edfou I 15, 37; I 317.
14) Mi ir-sn, cf. Ostr. Brit. Mus. 29549.
15) Variant Ostr. Bibl. Nat. (O. B. N.) "all that goes out over his limb (read "lip") is mixed with honey."
16) Mri, cf. Burchardt, Altkanaanäische Fremdworte (henceforth cited as Burch.) no. 466.
17) Shpr, cf. $p$ ih $n$ shpr, Piehl, Inscr. III 45. Nfrw, wrongly determined in Anast. I; cf. Piankhi $64 ; O . B . N$. variant hitri.
18) Mniti cf. Sall. $I I$ 4, 9; Pap. Turin 147, col. 2, 12, and possibly Pap. Kahun 14, 5; here metaphorically.
19) Variant O. B. N. "excellent cultivator of his position."
20) An obscure phrase thus to be rendered literally; sense perhaps "outstripping all his olde colleagues".
21) $O . B . N$., supported in part by the Brussels ostracon, continues as follows: - "wē $b$-priest of Sekhme, excellent (?) beyond (?) men of the future (?); directing the two limits of time according to their needs(?); over the secrets of the horizons; keen in converse, never yielding (?); servant of $\boldsymbol{W} s r t i$, admitted to sacred ground; not revealing (?) what he knows to the $H 3 w-n b$; $w e \bar{b}$-priest of Sekhme, Hori son of Onnofre."
who looses the yoke, [Hori] son of Onnofre of the region of Abydos, island ${ }^{1}$ of the just; born of Tewosre in the district of Belbeis ${ }^{2}$, singer of Ubast in Shet-hur $]^{3}$.

## II. He sends greetings to his friend, the scribe Amenemope.

He greets his friend, his excellent brother, the royal scribe in command of the victorious army'; noble of parts, goodly of qualities, adept in knowledge; who has not his equal in any scribe. Beloved of all men; beautiful to him 2,5 who behodds his charm; like a flower of the marshes in the heart of others ${ }^{5}$. A scribe (writing) in every style(?); there is nothing that he does not know. Men inquire after his response in quest of choice words. Keen of wit ${ }^{2}$, patient of heart, loving mankind; rejoicing at deeds of Justice, he turns his back upon iniquity. 〈The scribe of steeds (:) . . . . . . . . . . . Amenemope, son of the steward Mose, the revered. ${ }^{8}$

## III. Wishes for the welfare of the friend.

Mayest thou live and prosper and be hale, my excellent brother, wellequipped, strongly-established, without a wish; thy needs of life and of sustenance satisfied, joy and delight united in thy path. May 〈......") come forth for 3.1 thee in thy lifetime, and his $(:)$ gate $(: \%)^{10}$ decay not; mayest thou see the rays of the sun and sate thyself with him; mayest thou pass [thy] term thy gods pleased with thee ${ }^{11}$, not being wroth.......; may thy reward be... ...... after old age, thy love ${ }^{12}(:$ : $)$ in the hearts of (?) the Just; mayest thou enter into thy tomb in the holy [ground] and mix with the noble spirits; mayest thou be judged among them and be acquitted in Busiris before Onnofre, being established in Abydos in the presence of Shu-Onüris ${ }^{13}$; mayest thou cross [to 3.5 $\mathrm{U}^{-p e q e r}{ }^{11}$ in the train of the god $^{15}$; mayest thou traverse the divine region in

[^3]8) Restored from $O, B \cdot N$.
9) The name of a god (e. g. Nepri) must be supplied.
10) For this word cf. Ancasl. III, 5,2; instead of "his" it is just possible to read "thy". .
11) Htp m', cf. Anast. III $4, S$.
12) Read $m r-t$ for $m r h$ (?). But !!3ti might be read $h 3 t-t$ "finest oil"; then the sentence would read "thy oil being of the best [like (??)] the Just (??)".
13) Elsewhere always "Onuris-Shu"; he was "the son of Re" "with the high plumes" "lord of Thinis".
14) W-pk(r), the burial-place of Osiris in Abydos,

15) The ostracon in Qucen's College, Oxford (O. Q. C.) here inscrts: "mayest thou eat (?) bread and herbs (?) in the Region of Food ( $33-t$ df3); may there be presented to thee offering-loaves made beside (the god?), besprinkled from the two $d \tilde{s}^{r}-t$ vases with the water of $T 3 w-w r^{\prime \prime}$.
the train of Sokaris; mayest thou join the crew of the Neshmet bark ${ }^{1}$, without being turned back; mayest thou see the sun in heaven when he opens the year; may Anubis attach for thee thy head to thy bones ${ }^{2}$; mayest thou come forth from the Hidden Place ${ }^{3}$, without being destroyed; mayest thou [behold] the sheen ${ }^{4}$ in the Netherworld as it passes by thee; may Nun ${ }^{5}$ be abundant in thy domain, may he inundate thy path, may he overflow (the land to) seven ells (depth) beside thy tomb ${ }^{6}$; mayest thou sit at the river's brink in thy moment of repose; 4, mayest thou lave thy face and thy hand; mayest thou receive offerings; may thy nose inhale ${ }^{7}$ the breeze; mayest thou relax thy throat; the clothes of Tayt $(?)^{8}$ may Nepri give thee bread, and Hathor beer"; mayest thou suck at the breast of the Cow $S / 2 y t-H r^{10}$; may the best oils (?) be opened for (?) thee ${ }^{11}$; mayest thou enter . . . . . . . . . . . . mayest thou set him on his seat; may the Ushebti-figures receive thee (:) ........ carrying sand from the East to the West; mayest thou . . . . . . ${ }^{12}$ [the goddess in] thy sycamore, may she moisten thy throat; mayest thou repel [thy enemies (?); mayest thou be powerful(?) ${ }^{13}$ on] earth, mayest thou be bright ${ }^{14}$............, mayest thou be justified in heaven ${ }^{15}$ .; mayest thou descend to the without being 4,5 destroyed; mayest thou make thy transformations as thou listest like the Phoenix, every form of thine being a god when thou

## IV. Reception of a letter from Amenemope.

Another topic. Thy letter reached me in an hour of leisure ${ }^{16}$. Thy messenger found $\mathrm{me}^{17}$ as I sat beside the horse which is in my charge. I rejoiced

[^4]of Hathor with beer, cf. Destruction of Mankind (Sethos) 23.
io) Snk $m$ mnd "to suck at the breast" cf. Pap. Leiden 34., recto 6,11; "to suckle at the breast" Urk. IV 237. 239; and for the cow Sh3 3 yt - Hr in this context cf. Pyr. 1375; Capart, Recueil I 48.

I I) Very doubtful; read $w n n k$ instead of $w n-k \quad n$ (?).
12) Sfd "to grasp" occurs once on a $M . K$. coffin ( $A . Z .47$ [1910], 101); here meaning and construction are obscure.
13) Read ws $\gamma-k$ (?).
14) It is tempting to find in this damaged passage a variation of the common formula "mayest thou be bright ( $i \leqslant h \cdot k$ ) in heaven, mayest thou be powerful on earth, mayest thou be justified in the netherworld". In this case the spelling of $i 3 h-k$ here would need some alteration.
15) One expects $d w s-t$; see last note.
16) Lit. "of resting for a while".
17) For $g m-\frac{2}{}$ "I found" emend $g m-w i$ "found me" cf. Sinuhe R 19.
and was glad, I made ready to reply ${ }^{1}$. I entered into my stable ${ }^{2}$ to examine thy letter. I found it consisted neither of praises nor of insults'3. Thy utterances confuse this with that, all thy words are perverted, they are not coherent'. All 5,1 thy writing is mixing(f) [evil things] with choice, the best with ...... Thy sayings are $\{$ not(e) $\mid$ sweet; they are not bitter. with honey; thou dost excel must mingled with unmellowed winc ${ }^{5}$.

## V. The way in which Amenemope wrote his letter is described".

I [send] to thee and bear witness unto thee like
but not excellent(!). As for me, when [I| say [to] thee . . . . . . . . . . speak coolly ( $(\%)^{7}$. 5,5 Thy speeches . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . perturbed(?), to frighten me(? $)^{8}$. But I feel no awe before thee, I know thy nature, I feel sure ${ }^{9}$ that thou wilt answer it ${ }^{10}$ alone by thyself ${ }^{11}$. But $10{ }^{12}$, thy protectors ${ }^{13}$ stand behind thee; thou hast assembled many . . . . . . . of(?) helpers ${ }^{14}$ such as thou wouldst 〈collect(if)〉 for a bench of judges ${ }^{15}$. Thy looks are troubled, whilst thou standest coaxing the assistants(? $)^{16}$ and saying: "Come (join) with me and lend a hand to me!" Thou

1) $H$ r $r$, cf. especially R., I. H. 227, 62. Hsf "to answer" a letter ( $\check{s}^{c}-t$ ), clear in Pap. Leiden 365 verso 3; 367,6. Cf. too Leipzig ostracon 5, verso; below 5, 5; 7, 4; 28, 5 .
2) Smm-t has more than one meaning: (1) "stable" cf. Piankhi 109. 113.114; '3 n šmm( $-t$ ), a title, Sall. I 4, 10; (2) "granary", certain from Pap. Turin 51, + (fem.); cf. also Pap. Turin 100, 5. 7 ; 157,3 (masc.) ; (3) as part (?) of a magazine full of sand employed in the erection of a colossus, below 16,8 .
3) The sense of shwori as "insults" "offensive words" is fixed by 8, 2 and by Pap. Bibl. Nat. 198, 2, recto $4 ; 6,2$ below is very obscure.
4) Ts lit., "tied" "connected".
5) Pwr, a kind of wine drunk by the servants cf. Anast. IV 16, $1=$ Anast. III 8, 2; together with ivp and šdh., Anast. IV 7,4; in the Golenischeff Vocabulary ( 7,7 ) next to himd "vinegar".
6) No new paragraph is marked in the original, but I have indicated one in the translation, since the writer here passes on to review the way in which he imagines Amenemope must have written his letter. The first sentences are utterly obscure owing to the lacunae. Hori finds to his surprise that Amenemope has taken other scribes to help him with his writing, having won their assistance by giving them presents. From 6, 3 and the following lines it appears that Amenemope's letter was in some way concerned with the fetching of grain from the granary for the rations of the soldiers; here too Amenemope had proved his incompetence, his accounts being confused and inexact. The last sentences of the section are difficult to understand.
7) Kb, lit. "cool", "coolly" occurs in several obscure sentences in Anast. I. Almost certainly "vain", "1neaningless" in 13, I. Sense doubtful here and in 7, 2. In 28,8 probably "dispassionately".
8) $[\mathfrak{S} r] s ̌ r(?), c f . \breve{s} r[\check{s} r](?) 5,8$, a mere guess. $R$ sndw-i, cf. 11, 4, lit. perhaps "for my fear".
9) 'Ib "to believe", "imagine", again below 24,8 ; also Shiprevecked Sailor 58 ; perhaps already Quibell, Excavations at Saqqara III p. 83, 1. io (O. K.).
io) $H s f$, see n .1 on this page. The suffix refers to $s^{c}-t$ "the letter".
10) Hr tp-k, cf. 7, 6; Sall. III 8, 7; rather diffcrently 5,7 end.
11) The author's expectations are deceived; Amenemope gets others to help him with his letter.
12) Read miwnf, as is hinted by the variant of the Louvre Ostracon to 9, 1. For the word, which in late texts is parallel to nhy and $n d$, both of them meaning "protector", cf. Siut 3, 3; Millingen 2, 2 ; Rec. de Trav. 4, 131; Piankhi 124; Goshen 2, 1; Rochem., Edfou I 278. 280. 542; II 39. 47.
13) Kpw is a word used for men who, together with whic bring tribute of wild fowl Harris $I$ 12b, 6 ; 32b, 9; 69, 8; the title ' $3 n$ kpw, Pap. Bibl. Nat. 203, 4. 5. 6 (=Spiegelberg, Rechnungen). - For ' $d r$, in Hebrew $-i{ }^{2}$, see the references Burch. no. 303.
14) The sense may be guessed to be "thou hast enough helpers to compose a whole bench of judges in a court of justice". A verb is perhaps lost after iuk.
15) Psdy again in 9, 2, and in the plural $n y^{\prime-w}$ psdy parallel to $n y-z v^{\prime} d r$ "their helpers" in an obscure context Petrie Ostracon 6 (a fragmentary hymn to Amon).
presentest them with gifts ${ }^{1}$ ，each man separately，and they say to thee：＂Take heart，we will overcome him²＂．Thou standest perturbed（：$)^{3}$ ．．．．．．．．．before 6,1 them（ $($ ）：and they sit deliberating，the six scribes．Thou hastenest with them seven $(?)^{4}$ ．Thou givest two sections $(?)^{5}$ in charge to each man，and completest thy letter again．［One］（scribe speaks｜：］）praises，two （utter［：］）insults $(:)^{6}$ ．Another $(:)^{7}$ stands and examines them according to the rules． ［The fifth］says：＂Do not hurry，be patient about it in making（it）perfect＂．The sixth ${ }^{8}$ hastens to measure the $\left.\mid \operatorname{corn}(\xi)\right]^{9}$ ；he exerts himself（：$)^{10}$ to have it delivered ${ }^{11}$ ． 6,5 The seventh stands at（his）side in the act of receiving the rations for the soldiers． Thy lists ${ }^{12}$ are confused，and cannot be made right．Kharof ${ }^{13}$ plays the deaf man and will not hearken．He takes an oath by Ptah ${ }^{14}$ saying：＂I will not let the seal ${ }^{15}$ be set upon the granary＂．He goes forth in a rage ${ }^{16}$ ．By what （number）of bushels is one short（：$)^{17}$ ？（What［ $[\mathrm{j}]$ ）is the loss of pints in it for every measure ${ }^{18}$ ？Behold ${ }^{19}$ thou art a scribe in command of the army．Men 7，hearken to what thou sayest，thou art not disregarded ${ }^{20}$ ！Thou art clever as a scribe，there is nothing thou dost not know！Thy letter is deemed too second－
[^5]I I）$\check{S} d$ is shown by the Pap．Rollin（Iap．Bibl． Nat．204．205）and other documents to have been the technical term for＂withdrawing＂corn from the granary；$\check{s} p$ ，conversely，is the term for＂receiving＂ it when withdrawn．

12）For wp－wt＂specifications＂see Griffith on Pap．Kahun 9，2 and my own note Admonitions p． 48.

13）Hviw－$f$ is the pretended name of the super－ intendent of the granary：

14）Ptah is invoked as the＂lord of Truth＂，cf．8，4．
15）Ht＂a seal＂（quite distinct from htm ＂signet－ring＂）cf．Abbott 5，8；Inscr．．．hier．Char． 18，6：Pap．Turin 51，4；in demotic see Spiegel－ berg，Pctubastis，index no．314．The Turin passage well illustrates what is here meant．After the govern－ ment granaries had been opened，the proper official closed them again with his own seal，this serving as a token that he had cognisance of the proceeding．

16）$H \underline{d} n$＂to be angry＂，cf．below 28,5 ；Unamon 1 ， x $+8 ; 2,46$ ；Pap．Bibl．Nat．198，2，4；Max．d＇Anii 2，5；Pap．Brit．Mu＇s．1o33．5（Proc．S．B．A．10，44）．

17）G3b may have a somewhat similar sense below 7，I．The Turin Ostracon（O．T．）has twe $k$ $g 3 b-t i$＂art thou short＂instead of twiw $g 3 b$ ．

18）This sentence is obscure grammatically． Leipzig Ostracon 2 deals with a complaint of the workmen that the measure（ $i p-t$ onse）used for mea－ suring their rations showed a shortage of pints （ $h n-w$ ）．

19）The next sentences，down to＂disregarded＂ are wanting in $O . T$ ．

20）For wn＂neglect＂see Sethe，Einsetzung des Veziers p．21，n．90．These sentences are of course ironically meant．
rate(?)' to be listened to. 'Thou hast parted from (:) thy papyrus to no purpose"(in).
 be brought", saying: "the ....... are continually . . . . . . 5 at my fingerends(:), like a book of incantations(:) at the neck of a sick man ${ }^{6}$; it is continually ......, it does not tire of being fastened by the thread ${ }^{7}$ of my ring".

## VI. The author reproves Amenemope's discourtesy.

I reply to thee in like fashion ${ }^{8}$, in a letter newly (-composed) from the first word $(\vdots)^{9}$, down to the finis $(!)^{10}$, filled with expressions of my lips invented by myself alone, none other being with me. By the might of Thoth ${ }^{11}$ ! I made it by myself, without summoning any scribe that he might help ${ }^{12}$. I will give thee more than(:) ${ }^{13}$ twenty themes(?), I will repeat for thee what thou hast said, (every) theme in its place, (from) the fourteen columns(?) ${ }^{14}$ of thy letter. Take for thyself(? ${ }^{15}$ a sheet of papyrus; I will tell thee many things, and will pour out for thee choice 8,1 words ${ }^{16}$. - The Nile spreads abroad (its) flood when(?) the inundation season is bright( $\because:$ ); it takes possession of the meadows ${ }^{17}$. - All my words are sweet and pleasant in the saying(?) ${ }^{18}$; I do not act as thou dost when $[I]$ invoke(?) thee. Thou startest with insults to me ${ }^{19}$; thou dost not salute me at the beginning of thy letter. Thy words are far from me, they do not come near (me); for 'Thoth,


#### Abstract

1) S-hri-" seems to mean "to underestimate" (causative from hri-" "subordinate") in 8,7; 17,6. Here possibly "to think inferior". Obscure in Pap. Turin 146,11 . 2) Very uncertain. G3b-li (so O. T.) may mean "thou art bereft of", "short of", see p. 10*, n. 17. For $\overparen{6 b}$ cf. p. $9^{*}$, n. $7 .-O . T$. here adds an obscure sentence. 3) The final sentences of the section are exceedingly obscure, and my translation is merely tentative. What may be meant is that Amenemope, though aware of the inferior quality of his writing, yet boasts that he has his learning at his finger-tips, and that it clings to him as closely as the magical charm round the neck of a sick man. 4) Granmatically it would be also possible to translate "it is not good that thou shouldst not cause it to be brought", $t m-k$ then being infinitive (see Sethe, Verbum II $\$ 587$. But this gives no sense. Tm- $k$ may be the $s d m$ - form optatively used, a use perhaps confined to Anast. I; cf. 9,7 (?); 13, $4 ; 28,7$. 5) $B-g$ and $w-t-m$ are unknown words. 6) Charms were often lung around the necks of sufferers; compare for example the directions given in Erman, Zauberspr. f. Mutter u. Kind 1, 4; 8, 2 ; 9, 3. 7. 7) $H s s^{3}$, in Coptic $q^{(\omega c}$, cf. Harris $I$ 13b, 3 ; $21 \mathrm{a}, 8$; 52b, 2. Spiegelberg gives an archaeological illustration A. Z. 44 (1907), 123. 8) Lit. "with the like of it", scil. of your letter.


9) A corrupt word.
(1) $K-\gamma$, only here.
iI) Thoth is invoked as the patron deity of scribes.
10) The translation of the word $m$ itr in this text often gives difficulty. The root meaning appears to be "to be present"; secondary meanings are "to bear witness", "to assist" (both in the English sense and in that of the French "assister") and even "to instruct".
11) $D i-t$ h3w $n$ elsewhere means "to surpass", but there are no instances of this sense with the name of a person after the preposition. The translation here given is doubtful; "more than" ought to be h h $3 w h r$, not $h 3 w m$.
12) $S d-t$, see above p. 10*, n. 5; the construction of these words is not clear.
13) One expects $i-m h-t w, m$ or $i-m h \quad n k m$; see Rec. de Trai'. 27, 205.
14) Stp-w, cf. 2, 6; 5.1.
15) The simile here abruptly inserted cleariy alludes to the copiousness of the writer's eloquence. - The construction of $b$ ? 3 h $-t$ is quite obscure. -'I3d-t cf. Eloquent Peasant B I, I 43 ; Toth. ed. Ninv: 169, 5 ; L., D. III Iqob, S; Dachel stete 12; Mar., Dend. 161 a .
16) M dd usually means "to wit", and introduces a quotation; this seems hardly to be possible here.
17) Lit. "thou dost begin against me with insults"; for shzerỉ cf. P. 9*, 11. 3.
my god, is a shield about me. By the might of Ptah, the Lord of Truth, .... Behold make thy words so that(?) they come to pass ${ }^{1}$; make 8,5 every utterance of thy mouth into every (kind of) enemy. (Yet[]) shall I be buried in Abydos [in] the abode ${ }^{2}$ of $m y$ father; for I am the son of Truth in the city of the Lord $(:)^{3}$ 〈of Truth〉. I shall be buried among my compeers(\%) in the hill of the Sacred Land. Wherefore am I (as) a reprobate in thy heart? Then visit(?) it (upon me[f]). To whom have I recalled thee with an evil recalling ${ }^{45}$ I will make for thee a volume ${ }^{6}$ as a pleasant jest (so that) thou becomest the sport of everybody?

## VII. Amenemope vilifies the author and is answered.

Again thou sayest (concerning $\mathrm{me}^{8}$ ): "Feeble ${ }^{9}$ of arm, strengthless one"! Thou dost undervalue ${ }^{10}$ me as scribe, and sayest: "He knows nothing!" - I have 9,1 not ${ }^{11}$ spent a moment beside thee coaxing thee and saying: "Be my protector ${ }^{12}$, someone is persecuting me ${ }^{13}$ !" (By) the decree of the Victorious Lord, whose name is powerful, whose statutes are firmly-established like (those of) Thoth; I am the helper ${ }^{14}$ of all my fellow-men! Thou sayest, "Thou fallest(?)", again(?) concerning me . . . . . . . I know ${ }^{15}$ many men without strength, feeble of arm, weak of forearm, lacking in power. And (yet) they are rich in houses, in food and sustenance, and they speak no wish [concerning anything(?) ${ }^{16}$. Come, let me tell to thee the

1) Note that wo $r$ hipr means "come to pass", not "are far from happening", sce Admonitions p. 53. - If I grasp the drift of these sentences it is: "Do thy very worst, make thy words as hostile as thou wilt; yet thou canst not prevent my being buried in Abydos in the tomb of my father". It is significant that the name of the writer is Hori, and that of his father Onnofre. - The Louvre and Cailliaud ostraca (O. L. and O.C.) omit from "By the might of Ptah" down to "come to pass".
2) Variant $O . L$. and $O . C$. "tomb".
3) Anast. I has $n-t n b$, which can hardly here mean "every town"; I therefore take $n b$ as "lord" and assume that $M 3^{\prime}-t$ has been erroneously omitted. $O$. L. and $O . C$. have "I am the son of Right (Truth) in the island of the Righteous" i. c. Abydos, see 1. $7^{*}$, n. I.
4) Lit. "then thou bringest it". The ostraca have wtsy- $k$ wi, which suggests a similar meaning; wts sometimes means "to inform against", "accuse", see Erman's note on W'estcar 12, 23 .
5) The text of the papyrus is corrupt; $O . L$. supplies the true reading and, together with $O . C$., gives the variant "with evil words" for "with a bad recalling".
6) Shry seems to be the technical word for "a papyrus"; so gsti ! $n^{2}$ shr-t, "palcte and papyrus" Decree of Harcmheb, 13; shr $-t n{ }^{n}-t$ "a papyrus-
letter" Pap. Leiden 369; Pap. Bibl. Nat. 19S, 1, 19; the same word too above 4,8 .
7) $O$. L. and $O . C$. substitute "people rejoice at reading it (sdm "to listen to" someone reading aloud, practically equivalent to our "to read") as it were a sport."
8) "Concerning me", so the ostraca.
9) Lit. "broken".
10) Shri-‘, see above p. 11*, n. 1 .
11) The ostraca lave $n(3)$ ir $y$ i. e. probably "have I spent?" - $n(3)$ being the equivalent of $i n$.
12) $M$ rwnf, see above p. $9^{*}$, n. 13 .
13) Lit.: "another is hurting me". - 'I3d "to persecute", "hurt", actively, cf. Totb.ed. Leps., 162,3; R., I. H. 141, 21.
14) Psdy, see above p.9*, n. 16. The author seems to state that he was a helper of other men by royal appointment. The wit of this passage is not very intelligible to the Western mind.
15) Here begins a long descriptive passage where various persons with moral or physical defects are named, who yet have attained to wealth and dignities. The implication seems to be that Amenemope, the royal scribe, is only one grade better than them. Spiegelberg has dealt with the passage A. Z. 44 (1907), 123-125.
16) Cf. for example L'rk. IV 61; here however there is not room for $r$ ht $n b$ in the lacuna.
$9,5$ likeness of the scribe Roy, who was called the hirebrand(: $)^{1}$ of the granary. He never moved ${ }^{2}$ and never ran since (the day of) his birth. He detested the work of an active man, and never (came to) know it. And (yet) he rests in the Amente, his skin whole, and the dread of the Good God' ${ }^{3}$ overtakes him not. Thou art more(:) foolish ${ }^{4}$ than(:) Kasa, the reckoner of cattle ${ }^{3}$. Run(i), for(?) I will tell thee his likeness; do not(?) . . . . . . . . . . . . . ${ }^{6}$. Thou hast surely heard the name of Amen-wah-se, an old man in |the| Treasury. He passed his lifetime as controller in the workshop beside the armoury ${ }^{7}$. Come let me tell thee of Nakht, ${ }^{10,1}$ him of ${ }^{8}$ the wine-store; he will please thee ten times better than these. Let me tell thee of P-har-pide ${ }^{9}$ who lives in Heliopolis; [he is an old] man of the Palace. He is smaller <than ${ }^{10}$ a cat, and bigger than an ape; he prospers in his house and........., (while[?]) thou wilt be here in the stable for ever $(\because)^{11}$. Thou hast heard the name of Ke-sop $\left(\begin{array}{l}\text { ? }\end{array} \text {, the . . . . . (! }\right)^{12}$, who moves over the ground unnoticed ${ }^{13}$, disorderly (? $)^{14}$ of attire and tightly swathed ${ }^{15}$. If thou wert to see him at evening in the darkness, thou wouldst fancy him a passing bird. Put $10,5 \mathrm{him}$ in the scale and see how heavy he is. He will come out ${ }^{16}$ at ten pounds or even lighter still ${ }^{17}$. If thou blowest beside him as he passes, he will drop down far off like a leaf of foliage ${ }^{18}$. If I tell thee of Wah, him of the cattle-

[^6]8) $M i n k$, abbreviated for $m i$ sdd-i $n k$, cf. Anast. III 5,9 = Anast. IV 9,7; also mi nk r, Flovence Ostracon $2619=A . Z .17$ (1880), 96. -$P-n$ for $p\left(3^{3}\right) n$ cf. below 10, 6; $p-n$ Ht3, Sall III 4,7. In a neuter sense $p-n$ si $n b$ "every man's share" below 17,7; $p-n$ 'Immhtp "the feast of Amenothes" Ostr. Queen's Coll. Oxford.
9) $P$-hri-pdt as proper name, cf. Anast. VII 7,5; Pap. Bibl. Nat. 204 col. 1, II (quoted by Spiegelberg).
io) Emend $r m y$.
1i) $R$ šw is perhaps the equivalent of a swe in Demotic; cf. Pap. mag. 13, 9; I Ǐham. 3, 33; II Kham. 2, 7; 6, 2. However Thompson points out that all the Dem. instances are in negative sentences. Another doubtful hieroglyphic example Br., Grosse Oase 16, 32.
12) $\check{S}-h-k$, an unknown word.
13) The Berlin ostracon (O.B.) shows how the ambiguously-written verb in Anast. $I$ is to be understood.
14) $\check{S}$-( $n$ ) $r$ - $f$, only again in $24, \mathrm{I}-2$; perhaps "to be ruffled", originally of hair.
15) Bud, corruptly written bdn below 28,3; cf. Totb. ed. Leps. 163, 16; Pap. Turin 137, 8. O. B. has here the more appropriate determinatives.
16) $P r$, cf. II, 3; SPleg. further quotes Lrk. IV 119.
17) Wi3-tw, see my note $A . Z .47$ (1910), 134-136.

I8) G3b „leaf" is the Coptic G(whe, Boh. دwbr. Dbw is a rarer word with similar meaning, preserved in Sah. roobey (Spleg., Rec. de Traz. 26, 37).
stalls, thou wilt reward me with thrice refined(:) gold². I swear by the Lord of Khmunn ${ }^{2}$ and Nehem-awayt, thou art strong of arm, thou wilt overthrow thems'. Let [them(e)] be examined, these (:) with those. I will smite them with my arm, [nor shall any turn(:)] ${ }^{1}$ aside my hands. - Good Sir $^{5}$, my friend, who dost not know what thou sayest, I solve thy riddles; arduous things I make easy!

## VIII. The writer mocks at Amenemope's pretended wisdom.

Thou art come furnished with great secrets. Thou tellest me a proverb of Hardedef ${ }^{3}$, and knowest not whether it be good or bad; what chapter comes before it . .......: Thou art one clever beyond his fellows; the lore of books is graven in thy heart. Felicitous is thy tongue; broad are thy words. One saying from thy mouth weighs more than three pounds. Thou........... . ${ }^{7}$ to me in order to frighten me( ()$^{8}$. My eyes are dazzled $(:)^{9}$ at what thou doest; I am ${ }_{11,5}$ agape $(:)^{10}$ when thou sayest: "More profound ${ }^{11}$ as scribe am I than heaven and earth and the netherworld; I know the (measure of the) mountains in pounds and in pints." The house of books is hidden, it is not seen ${ }^{13}$; its divine cycle is concealed and . ................ . Tell me what thou knowest (of them). Then shall I answer thee: "Beware lest thy fingers approach the hieroglyphs ${ }^{13}$ ". So say I: $\qquad$ as when. sits to play draughts" ${ }^{14}$.

## IX. The writer vindicates his title to the name of scribe.

Thou sayest to me: "Thou art no scribe, thou art no soldier! Thou (alone) makest thyself out to be one in authority $(?)^{15}$ ! Thou art not on the list ${ }^{16}$ !" 12,1 - Thou (forsooth) art a scribe of the king, one who enrols the soldiers. All the

[^7]11) Md as verb, cf. Piankhi 72.
12) $H /$ is frequent in Greek times for "to see", c. g. Mar., Dend. I 43 b ; II 60 c ; in earlier texts here only:
13) In reality, the writer argues, Amenemope knows nothing of the profound mysteries into which he claims to have been initiated. He will thercfore do well to refrain altogether from meddling with the hieroglyphs.
14) The last words of this passage (not understood by me when the text was autographed) should be emended to $h b^{6}$ sn-l, cf. Tolb. ed. Nav., 17, 2. The complexities of the art of letters are compared with those of the game of draughts.
15) For iry'k tw $m$ "thou dost represent thyself as', cf. 20, 4 , and the variant of $O$. T. to 6,5 . - It is very tempting to restore ri-hri after $m$, but the traces are against this.
16) Hr 'whi, see my Inscriplion of Mes, p. 17. - With the next words hrr mutk Hori's rejoinder begins.
........ (i) ${ }^{1}$ of heaven are open before thee. Haste thee to the [lace fof the ${ }^{-2}$ books, that they may let thee see the chest with the fregisters ", taking an offering to $/!-r^{-5}$ that he may quickly disclose(:) to thee my(?) reputation ${ }^{5}$. Thou wilt find my name upon the roll as officer ${ }^{6}$ of the great stable of Sese ${ }^{7}$ miamun. Thou wilt bear witness to the command in the stable (which I hold), for provisions (: $)^{8}$ are entered ${ }^{9}$ in my name. So I have served as officer! So I have been a 12,5 scribe! There is no stripling of thy (?) gencration who can measure himself with $m^{1 n}$. Let a man inquire from his mother! Hie thee ${ }^{11}$ to my superior officers, that they may declare to thee my reputation.

## X. An imaginary competition in which the writer's superiority is proved.

Again thou sayest concerning me: "A high . . . tree ${ }^{12}$ is before thee; enter thou into the difficult $(:)$. . . . . tree; thou canst not do it!" Enter thou in before me, and I will come after thee. Admit $(:)^{13}$, thou hast never approached it, nor canst thou( $:$ ) draw nigh to $\mathrm{it}^{14}$. If thou discoverest the inner part of it ${ }^{15}$, I have ${ }_{13,1}$ retreated (still further). Beware of laying hands on me in order to pull me out.

## XI. The writer is again accused of being no true scribe.

Thou sayest to me: "In very sooth ${ }^{16}$ thou art no scribe; it is a vain ${ }^{17}$ and empty name. Thou bearest the palette wrongfully ${ }^{18}$, without being . . . . . . ${ }^{19}(:)^{\prime \prime}$ - I am foolish( $(:)^{20}$ [and without a(i)] teacher. Tell me(:) the


#### Abstract

1) A word for "secrets" (?); the determinative does not suit "gates". 2) Or $t s-t[s 3 i \infty] s .5$ "the place of the [keepers] of the books. 3) 'Imi-rnf seems a fairly certain conjecture. 4) This name, which belongs to an imagined "keeper of the books", is not found elsewhere. 5) $S m i-i$, without the possessive article, is found below in 12,6 . The sentence might run; wn- $f k$ $3[s][h r(?)] p 3 i-i(?) s m i$, but the construction and several words are doubtful. The sense however is obvious. 6) This title, of which the reading and the exact meaning are unknown, occurs in the Golemischeff Vocubulary (3, Iо) between the "armour-bearer" ( 13 y $h_{i}^{\prime} w$ ) and the "groom" ( $n i-r-i$ ); for other instances see p. 21 a , note 9 m . Another hieroglyphic instance


 Brit. Mus. 32 I .7) The shortened form of the name Rameses; the most recent discussion is that of von Calice, A. Z. 46 (1909), 11 I.
8) $D-r-w=-t$, an unknown word.
9) Lit. "are in writing".
10) Emend stni-f $r h_{i}^{2} w-i$ as in 28,2 ; and cf. it $\operatorname{stn}-f \quad n \quad l m-k$ "who can compare himself to thy Majesty", Mar., Abyd. II 54, II.
11) 'Ih, cf. Paheri 5; Nav', Deir-el-Bahari 89; Amherst Papyri 2o, IV; Wiedemann, Aeg. Grab-
reliefs ..... zu Karlsruhe 7; Sphinx stele 11; Leipzig Ostracon 8.
12) It must be assumed that $h 3 \gamma w$, if this be the original reading (see critical note), was the name of a lofty tree difficult to climb. Here there is a figurative competition between the two scribes, to see which of them can penetrate farthest into the midst of the tree (the branches?). In idiomatic English it might be said that they are trying to test which of them can get nearer "to the top of the tree". The artificiality of the long-sustained metaphor makes it difficult for a modern reader to appreciate.
13) Hn occurs several times thus obscurely before a negative, cf. Anast. IV 13, I; Mar., Karnak 55, 77 ; the sense is not by any means certain.
14) These words are omitted in the Turin Papyrus (P. T.).
15) Lit. "if thou findest its interior". Variant $P$. $T$. "if thou art found in its interior".
16) 'I $(w) n(3)$, Coptic alr, has here its original emphatic meaning, cf. A. Z. 41 (1904), 130.
17) 18. $^{\prime} b$, see above p. $9^{*}$, 11. 7.
1) $M I d^{3} i(w)-t$ only here; for $d^{3}-t$ see $A . Z .42$ (1905), 58.
2) $D n$, a difficult and rather uncertain word, cf. Rec. de Trav. 16, 129; Leipzig Ostracon 23, recto.
3) $\mathrm{H}-n$ (h3-ini-iua), cf. I srael Stele 14; possibly also R., I. H. 144, 46-47.
. . . . . . . . able to exhaust ( $)^{1}$ me( () . Thou dost harness ${ }^{2}$ thyself against me yet again. Thy sayings do injustice; they will not be hearkened to. Let thy letters ${ }^{3}$ be taken before Onūris ${ }^{4}$, that he may decide for us who is in the right; do not be angry ${ }^{5}$.

## XII. Two instances of the incompetence of Amenemope: in the supplying of rations for the troops, and in the building of a ramp.

13,5 Another topic. Behold I am come full of thy office; I cause thee to know how matters stand with thee ${ }^{5}$ when thou sayest: "I am the scribe, commander of soldiers". There is given to thee a lake to dig. Thou comest to me to inquire concerning the giving of rations ${ }^{7}$ to the soldiers, and sayest to me: "Reckon it out". Thou desertest thy office; the (task of) teaching thee to perform it falls upon my shoulders ${ }^{8}$. Come, I will tell thee more than thou hast ${ }_{14,1}$ said( () . I will cause thee to be abashed( ()$^{9}$. I will disclose to thee a command of thy Lord, since thou art his royal scribe, (since) thou art despatched to convey ${ }^{10}$ great monuments for Horus, the Lord of the Two Lands. For thou (in sooth) art the clever scribe who is at the head of the soldiers! - There is made ${ }^{11}$ a ramp of 730 cubits, with a breadth of 55 cubits, consisting of 120 compartments(:), filled ${ }^{12}$ with reeds ${ }^{13}$ and beams, with a height of ${ }^{14} 60$ cubits at its summit, its

1) Pnk "to draw water", or "to bale" water out of a boat, the Coptic nowre; cf. Borchardt, Baug. d. Amonstempels 41; Eloquent Peasant B 1, 94. 278; Totb. ed. Nav. 99, 24. Here probably in a metaphorical sense. The determinative in the papyrus seems to be borrowed from $p n^{\prime}$.
2) Lit. "yokest thyself".
3) $P . T$.has the variant "my letters", which is perhaps better; Hori is rebutting an attack upon himself.
4) Onūris receives the epithet wd $m s^{2}-t$ "adjudicating the truth" on a late stele Leiden VLDJ 4; and a Thinite temple mentioned in Harris I 57, II; 61a, 3 bears the name "Rameses judging Truth (wd $m 3-t$ ) in the house of Onüris".
5) For $t m$ - $k$ optatively, see $\mathrm{p} . \mathrm{II}^{*}, \mathrm{n} .4$.
6) Lit. "I cause thee to know thy condition" (shr, "way", "plan", "condition").
7) The reading of this common word for "rations" (cf. 6,4) is not yet established. Its sense cannot easily be connected that of the stem $s p d$, and it appears to me almost certain that the word is a derivative of $d i$ "to give", since the three hieroglyphic examples known to me (Tylor, Tomb of Sebeknekht 7, 13 [collated]; Urk. IV 64; Decree of Haremheb, right side) write it with the old triangular sign for $d i$. Setue however points out that the signs for spd and $d i$ are occasionally interchanged in the 18 th Dynasty, and quotes $U r k$. IV 240 as an instance.
8) Hr nhbt-i "upon my neck"; in the same metaphorical sense cf. Newberry, Rekhmara 2, 12.
9) $H-n(v)-g$ only here with the determinative of evil; with that of weariness, cf. 'there is none who drives his horses(?) into his neighbourhood; every land is abashed (? $\ln n(v) g$ ) by his power ( $m k 3-f$ )" de Morgan, Cat. d. Mon. I 7 (I owe the example to M. Dévaud). Whether this word is akin to h3g, $h-\gamma-g$ "to be pleased", "content", is not clear; for the latter cf. Rifeh, tomb 7, 10. 26; Mar., Abyd. I 29; Rochem., Edfou I 74; cf. gioб and the reduplicated form h h 3 g 3 g .
io) $P$. T. reads "thou art sent beneath the (Royal) balcony with regard to all kinds of goodly works, (when) the mountains are disgorging (read $h r{\underset{R}{c}}^{c}$, cf. Hood 1, 2) great monuments" etc.
10) At this point there begins the description of one of three engineering problems by which Amenemope's vaunted skill is to be put to the test and proved non-existent. The technical details are discussed in the Appendix that follows the translation.
11) Anast. I rightly $m h$, masculine, agreeing with stz; P. T. mh - ti, which could only agree with $\gamma-g-t$. "Filled" here means "provided with", "containing"; the literal sense must not be too closely pressed.
12) $G-s ̌$, in Coptic אa!s (the exceptional equivalence $g=\mathrm{k}$ should be noted), cf. Anast. IV ib, 3; 13, 11; 14, 7 ( $=$ Koller 5, 8); Harvis $I$ 19b, 10; 72, 1; Mar., Dend. IV 39, 151.
13) $M$ hy "with a height of", followed by a genitive, cf. Harvis $I$ 59, 2.
middle of 30 cubits, its batter(?) I 5 cubits, its base(?) of 5 cubits. Tho quantity of bricks needed for it is asked of the commander of the army: All the scribes 14,5 together lack knowledge among them(?). They put their faith ${ }^{1}$ in thee, all of them, saying: "Thou art a clever scribe", my friend! Decide for us quickly! Behold thy name is famous; let one be found in this place (able) to magnify ${ }^{3}$ the other thirty! Let it not be said of thee that there is aught that thou dost not know! Answer us (as to) the quantity of bricks needed! Behold its measurements(i:) are before thee; each one of its compartments(?) is of 30 cubits (long) and 7 cubits broad" ${ }^{5}$.

## XIII. Amenemope is unable to determine the number of men required in the transport of an obelisk of given dimensions.

Come, good sir, vigilant scribe, who art at the head of the army, distinguished when thou standest at the great Palace-gates, comely when thou bowest down beneath the Balcony ${ }^{6}$ ! A despatch has come from the crown-prince ${ }^{7}$ at $R^{c}-k 3^{8}$ to rejoice the heart of the Horus of Gold, to extol(!) the raging Lion(: $)^{9}$, telling that an obelisk ${ }^{-10}$ has been newly made, graven with the name of His Majesty, of iro cubits in length of shaft; its pedestal io cubits (square), the block at its base making 7 cubits in every direction; it goes in a slope(?) towards the ${ }_{15,5}$ summit(?), one cubit and one finger(?); its pyramidion one cubit in height, its point(?) (measuring) two fingers. Add them together(i) so as to make them into a list $(? ?)^{11}$, so that thou mayest appoint every man needed to( $\because:$ ) drag them, and send them to the Red Mountain ${ }^{12}$. Behold, they are waiting for

[^8]7) $R p t i$ in the New Kingdom is as a rule the designation of the Crown-prince; convincing examples are d'Orbiney 19, 2. 6; Harris I 42,8; Pap. Turin 17, I, 102, 2, 9; Inscr. dédic. 44.
8) $R^{\prime}$ probably here means "district of" or the like. A canal or branch of the Nile named $K 3$ is mentioned on several wine-jars from the Ramesseum, viz. Spiegelberg, Hier. Ostr. nos. 209. 217. 218. 269. 289. 292. In the last-quoted instance $K 3$ is connected with "the water of Ptah", which is found in a list of canals etc. appended to the Catalogue of Lower Egyp. tian nomes (sce Brugsch, Dict. Géogr. 239); but that the word $k 3$ in the same list (op. cit. 1271) is no geographical name seems fairly clear. For the location of $K 3$ note that the Red Mountain is implied in 15,6 to have been the quarry where the obelisk was made; this is the Gebel Almmar near Cairo, see my Notes on the Story of Sinuthe, on B14-ry.
9) I. e. the Pharaoh. Probably we should read $r$ swh m3i nšn; for swh with a direct object see Admonitions p. 28.
10) For the technical words see the Appendix.

1i) A very difficult and uncertain sentence.
12) See above n. 8 .
$[\text { them }]^{2}$. Prepare (:) the way for(:) the crown-prince $M / s^{-i}$ itn. Approach $(:)^{2}$ and decide for us the number of men who (shall go) before him. Let them not have to write again! The monument (lies ready) in the quarry. Answer quickly, do not dawdle ${ }^{3}$ ! Behold thou art seeking them ${ }^{4}$ for thyself! Get thee on ${ }^{5}$ ! Behold ${ }_{16,1}$ thou art bestirring thyself(:) $)^{6}$. I cause thee to rejoice; I used formerly to . . . . . . like thee. Let us join the fray together ${ }^{7}$, for my heart is tried, my fingers are apt and clever ${ }^{8}$ when thou goest astray. Get thee (onwards) ${ }^{9}$ ! Do not weep! Thy helper ${ }^{10}$ stands behind thee! I will cause thee to say: "There is a royal scribe with the Horus, the Victorious Bull", and thou shalt order men to make chests into which to put letters ${ }^{11}$. I would have written for thee stealthily $(: \stackrel{y}{ })^{12}$, 16,5 but(:) behold thou art seeking it for thyself ${ }^{13}$. Thou settest my fingers . . . . . . . . ${ }^{14}$ like a bull at a festival at every festival of ...........

## XIV. Amenemope proves himself incapable of supervising the erection of a colossus.

It is said to thee: "Empty ${ }^{15}$ the magazine that has been loaded with sand under the monument of thy Lord which has been brought from the Red Mountain. It makes 30 cubits stretched upon the ground, and 20 cubits in breadth, ...... -ed with $100(:)$ ) chambers ${ }^{16}$ filled with sand from the river-bank. The .......... of its(:) chambers have a breadth of 44 (:) cubits and a height of 50 cubits, all 17,1 of them, . . . . . . . . in their . . . . . . . . ." ${ }^{17}$ Thou art commanded to find out what is before (the Pharaoh)(:\%) ${ }^{18}$. How many ${ }^{19}$ men will (it take to) demolish

[^9]therefore knows how to cope with such difficulties. $\underline{T} s$ skw, see Admonitions p. 20;nsp is the Coptic Īcon.
8) Lit. "hear (understand) cleverness".
9) Erman rightly emends ims-tw as in $15,8$.
10) For ' $d r$ see above p. $9^{*}$, n. 14 .
11) The meaning perhaps is that Amenemope, having found a helper, not only Ioudly exclaims that Pharaoh possesses in himself a competent royal scribe, but even goes so far as to order the boxes into which his letters are to be put. - The suffix $-s n$ makes it necessary to emend the plural pdsw "boxes".
12) $H-\gamma-\underline{t}-\underline{t}$ only here.
13) See above 15,8 , and n. 4 on this page.
14) Nsns, $\ddot{\alpha} \pi \alpha \alpha_{\xi} \lambda \varepsilon \gamma^{\prime} \dot{\mu} \mu v o v$. Here again the sense is utterly obscure.

I5) For the mode of erection contemplated see the Appendix.
16) Šmm sce above p. 9*, n. 2.
17) $D 3 y$, twhw (?) and $\operatorname{sg}^{3}$ are unknown words.
18) It is hardly possible to translate differently, but my rendering gives no satisfactory sense. M $M 3 / h$ seems to be used in reference to ascertained dimensions in 14,8 .
19) Wr , Coptic ormp, cf. below 27,8 ; Anast. $V$ 20, 5 ; Unamon I, $x+15$.
it ${ }^{2}$ in six hours－（if［：］$)^{2}$ apt are their minds $(:)$ ，but small their desire to demo－ lish it without there coming a pause when thou givest a rest＂to the soldiers， that they may take their meal ${ }^{4}$－so that the monument may be established in its place？It is Pharaoh＇s desire to see it beautiful！

## XV．Amenemope fails to make proper provision for a military expedition．

O scribe，keen of wit，understanding of heart ${ }^{5}$ ，to whom nothing what－ soever is unknown，flame ${ }^{6}$ in the darkness before the soldiers，giving light to them！Thou art sent on an expedition to Phoenicia $\left(\begin{array}{l}\text {（ }\end{array}{ }^{7}\right.$ at the head of the victorious army，in order to smite those rebels who are called Neârîn ${ }^{8}$ ．The troops of soldiers who are before thee amount to 1900；（of）Sherden 520 （e），of Kehek 7，5 1600，of Meshwesh $\langle 100(?)\rangle^{9}$ ，Negroes making 880；total 5000 in all，not coun－ ting ${ }^{10}$ their officers．A complimentary gift ${ }^{11}$ has been brought for thee（and set） before thee，bread and cattle and wine．The number of men is too great for thee，the provision ${ }^{13}$（made）is too small for them：loaves of ．．．．flour ${ }^{13}$ ， 300 ； cakes ${ }^{14}$ ， 1800 ；goats of various sorts， 120 ；wine， 30 （measures）．The soldiers are too numerous，the provisions are underrated ${ }^{15}$ as compared with（ $\%$ ）that which thou takest of them．Thou receivest（？）（them，and）they are placed in the camp．The soldiers are prepared and ready．Register them quickly，the share of ${ }^{16}$ every man to his hand． The Beduins look on in secret ${ }^{17}$ ．O sapient scribe ${ }^{18}$ ，midday has come，the camp is hot．They say ${ }^{19}$ ：＂It is time to start ${ }^{20}$ ！Do not make the commander ${ }^{21}$ angry！ Long is the march before us！＂But I say：＂What means it，that there is no（i？） bread at all2？？Our night－quarters are far off！What means，good sir，this scour－

1）Hm doubtless originally＂to demolish＂a wall； ＂to force open＂a tomb，cf．Pap．Amherst 2,2 ；Mayer B9：elsewhere chiefly metaphorically，e．g．Pyr． 3 II． Cf．Coptic Souscu confringere．

2）The difficult words that follow seem to refer to the likelihood that the workers，though competent， will show themselves unwilling to work for six hours continuously without a break for a meal；in cal－ culating the number of men required this factor must be taken into account．

3）Rdit suf $u$ ，Sphinx stele 6；Fraser，Scarabs 263，14；Decree of Haremheb 25；ibid．right side 10； cf．cpefe otiari．

4）The word＇$s$ only here．
5）Wh？ib，see A．Z． 45 （1909）， 136.
6）For the metaphor cf．L．，D．II I50a， 4 （Ham－ mamat）．

7）All translators have here emended $R h n$ ，Ham－ mamat，but the context demands the name of a well－ known country in the direction of Syria．For my conjec－ ture $\underline{D} 3 h i$ see the note on the reading p．29a，note I b．

8）$N^{\top-<}-\gamma-n$, ニーロ゙：＂warriors＂，a sense that is found in the O．T．See Burcir．no． 559.

9）The Meshwesh and the Negroes are never
elsewhere linked together as the Ms．reading suggests； hence a number may have fallen out of the text．See p．29a，note 4 c ．

10）Wiz－tw，see A．Z． 47 （1910），134－136．
i i）From the stem $\mathrm{D}^{2} \boldsymbol{v}$ ；Burch，no． 87 I ．
12）Nkt＂provisions＂，an exceptional sense of the word found again Anast．$I V 1_{3}, 12$.

13）K K $m$ ，an ancient Egyptian word related to Hebrew nap；Burch．no．984．

If）＇I－p－t，from הЕ®＂to bake＂，Burcur，no． 39.
15）$S$－ hinin $^{-}$，see above P．II＊，n．I．
16）$P-n$ ，see above p． $13^{*}$, n． 8 ．
17）$M$ t3w（ $t$ ，Coptic inssore furtim，cf．below 20，4；Anast．IV 4， 11.

18）Two Semitic words，which in Hebrew would be טפר רוד＂．

19）The reading is uncertain；see p．29a，note $16 i$ ．
20）F3＂to start＂，cf．20，I
21）Is pd－t，cf．Mar．，Abydos I 53；Ros．，IIon． Stor．I 125 ．

22）$M \mathrm{kf}$ is elsewhere found at the end of negative sentences for emphasis（like in art），cf．27，3； Anast．IV 13，5；Anast．V 7，1；17，7．Hence the conjecture bn here．
ging of us? Nay, but thou art a clever scribe! Approach to give the food ${ }^{\text {! }}$ ! An hour ${ }^{2}$ becomes (:) a day without the scribe from (: $:=$ ) the Ruler. 〈What means(:) > thy being brought to punish us? This is not good; let Mose ${ }^{3}$ hear (of it), and he will send to destroy thee!"

## XVI. Amenemope's ignorance of Northern Syria.

Thy letter abounds in pointed speeches (? $)^{4}$, is overloaded with big words. Behold they will (:) reward thee with that which they demand $(::)^{5}$; thou hast piled up (words) at thy good pleasure ${ }^{6}$. "I am a scribe, a Maher", thou dost retort. 18,5 (If) there is truth in what thou sayest, say $\mathrm{I}^{8}$, come forth that thou mayest be tested. A horse is harnessed for thee, swift as the jackal red of ear ${ }^{9}$; it is like a storm of wind when it goes forth. Thou loosest the reins ${ }^{10}$, and seizest the bow. Let us see what thy hand will do! I will expound to thee the manner of a Maher, I will cause thee to see what he does. Thou hast not gone ${ }^{11}$ to the land of Khatti; thou hast not beheld the land of Upe ${ }^{12}$. As for $H-d-m$, thou knowest

1) Mkw "food", cf. Anast. IV 13, 12; 17, 6; Pap. Kahun 40, 29; Pap. Turin 69, col. 1,9.
2) The construction and the sense of the next two sentences are highly problematical.
3) In Salt 2,18 the word $M s y$ seems to be used as an appellation or nickname of the Pharaoh; so too perhaps here. - This is the passage in which Lauth sought to find the name of Moses.
4) $N-s-k$, see Br., Wörterb. Suppl. 658, where the Coptic Xurc "pungere" is compared. "Pointed sayings", "pungent sayings", seems a likelier meaning than "coupures", the rendering of Chabas, or "paragraphes", that of Brugsch.
5) This obscure sentence may possibly mean: thou hast piled up big words in a reckless manner, and must now accept from me the retort which they seem themselves to ask for. Fķ means "to reward" (to be distinguished from fiks "to pluck", see the note on Koller 2,8); here perhaps $f(\xi 3-w$ tw should be emended.
6) Lit. "as thou didst wish".
7) The word $m-h-r$, which is found frequently in the next pages of Anastasi $I$ but nowhere else, must be the technical name given to the Egyptian emissary in Syria. The derivation from suggested by Chabas (p. 81) is very uncertain, but has not been bettered. If "speedy" were the etymological sense one might expect the determinatives of movement. The determinative of the child, which in some instances precedes or replaces that of violent action, is borrowed from a word for "suckling" (cf. de Morgan, Cat. des Mon., 1 i17, a 1 ; Rec. de Trav. 18,162 ) that is itself derived from a word meaning "to provide with milk" discussed by Pieir, Sphinx IV 12-14; thence too comes mhr "milkman" in Hood 2, $13=$ Golenischeff Vocabulary 2, 12, where the
context and (in one case) the determinatives render the meaning certain.
8) 'In-n "I say" (lit. "we say") can stand either before or after the words quoted; after, cf. above 11, 7; Pap. Bibl. Nat. 198, 2, 12; before, here 17, 8 and Pap. Bibl. Nat. 198, 3, 16.
9) Šrš "to be swift", cf. Urkunden IV 697; Pap. Turin 26 col. 3, 6; late examples Mar., Dend. I 46b; III 28 h ; 52 p ; Düm., Geogr. Inscr. IV 123. - The jackal as an image of speed, cf. L., D. III 195 a. It is not clear whether the epithet "red-eared" refers to the horse or the jackal.
10) Hur "reins", see Burch. no 727.
iI) Chabas translates this and the numerous sentences of similar type in the next pages interrogatively, "n'es-tu pas alle"" "n'as-tu pas vu", etc. Brugsch rightly animadverts on this mistake in his article in the Revue Critique; though it must be admitted that the blending of the denials that Amenemope has ever been in Syria with the descriptions of what would have happened to him if he had been there is very misleading. The most conclusive evidence that the sentences in question are negative statements, intended, like many of the preceding sections, to demonstrate the ignorance of Amenemope, will be found in the clauses "thou answerest me neither good nor evil, thou renderest no report", 27, 2; "thou hast never trodden it at all ( $m \mathrm{kf}$ )", 27, 3; "thou hast never seen them since thy birth", 27, 7 (cf. 9, 5); notice particularly the italicized words. Erman (Agypien 5 Io foll.) was mistaken in returning to Chabas' view.
11) ' $I-p$ is a land situated at the northern extremity of Hzww (Syria), Damascus being one of its towns. Identical with Ube of the Amarna letters, cf. E. Meyer, Festschrift f. G. Ebers, p. 7i. See too Knudizon, El-Amarna-Tajeln, p. inio-ilii.
not the nature of it，and $Y-g \cdot d-y$ in like manner ${ }^{1}$ ．What is the $D-m-r\left(\begin{array}{r}i\end{array}\right)^{2}$ of $1_{19,1}$ Sese like？On which side of it is the town of（I－$\ldots \ldots{ }^{3}$ ？What is its stream ${ }^{4}$ like：Thou hast never set forth to Kadesh ${ }^{5}$ and to $D-b-h_{1}{ }^{6}$ ．＇Thou hast not gone to the region of the Shosu with the troops of the army ${ }^{7}$ ．Thou hast［not］trodden the way to the $M-g \cdot r^{2}$ ，（where）the sky is dark by day，and it is overgrown with cypresses $(i)^{9}$ and oaks ${ }^{10}$ and cedars that reach the heavens； （where）lions are more plenteous than leopards ${ }^{11}$ and hyenas ${ }^{12}(:)$ ，and（it）is girt about with Shosu on 〈every〉 side．Thou hast not climbed the mountain of $S_{-}-w^{13}$ ．
19，5 Thou hast not trodden 〈the road（？）$\rangle^{14}$ ，thy hands placed upon thy chariot worn ${ }^{15}$ by ropes，thy horse being dragged（！）．Prithee let［me tell thee of $] \ldots .-b-r-t^{16}(乡)$ ．Thou shrinkest from（？）${ }^{12}$ its ascent，and crossest its stream because of it（ $(?)$ ．Thou beholdest how it tastes to be a Maher ${ }^{18}$ ！Thy chariot rests upon thy［shoulder（？）${ }^{19}$ ．Thy［assistant（？）］is worn out ${ }^{20}$ ．Thou makest

1）Unknown localities．
2）M．Müller（O．L．Z．I 382－3）reads＂＂the $\underline{d}-m-\gamma$ of Sese＂i．e．of Rameses II；this he would separate from the Simyra near Arvad（Urk．IV 689）， as too far north for a fortress of Rameses II，and accordingly he identifies it with the Sumur of the letters of Ribaddi，which Winckler conjectured to be much nearer to Byblos．The present tendency is to identify Şumur with Simyra，the modern Sumra on the Nahr el Kebîr，rejecting Wincklers view（see Knudtzon，$o p$ ．cit．1141）．If $(d-m-r$ is the right reading，as is probable，it must be understood as Simyra．

3）Chabas here read $H-\gamma-b$ ，Aleppo，but wrongly； see p．30a，note 171.

4）Hd is surely not＂ford＂，but＂stream＂ （Brugsch rightly＂courant＂）；it is clearly derived from the verb＂to flow down＂，＂to sail downstream＂． Elsewhere only as name of a canal，Berlin 15393 （Saitic stele）；Mar．，Dend．I 66b．

5）Probably Kadesh on the Orontes；so Maspero， Rec．de Trav．19，68－72，where the entire context is discussed．Max Müller rejects this view，perhaps only for the reason that Kadesh occurs again below 22，4，and identifies Kadesh here with the Galilaean town of that name，Kidsa in the Amarna letters and perhaps the first name in Thutmosis HI＇s Retenu list（Urk．IV 781）；see As．u．Eur． 173. Maspero＇s theory is far preferable；all the identi－ fiable names in this passage are in the far North of Syria．

6）$D-b-h$（Urk．IV 781，6）is （II Sam．8，8， LXX），the Tubihi of the Amarna letters；probably a little S．of Damascus，see Max Müller，Die Palästinaliste Th．III p． 9

7）Pd－t msć，cf．17， 4.
8）$P-m-g-r$ ，unknown；for suggested etymolo－
gies see Maspero，l．c．；it is uncertain whether $p(3)$ is here the article or not．

9）The wood of the tree＇wn－t was used for making＂staves＂（シニジ）cf．Mallet 1,7 ；Pap．Turin 2，9．

II）$R$ 3by should not be misread as d3by；this would be an impossible spelling for $=7$＂bears＂， which Max Müller still upholds，As．u．Eur． 89.

12）Htm－t only here，below 20,7 ，and in the very late text Brugsch，Rec．If 71， 4 ；in the last instance with a dog－like determinative．Chabas unwarrantably identified $h t m-t$ and $h t-t$ ，gorre．I retain the rende－ ring＂hyena＂for want of a better．

13）$\check{S}^{2}$－$w$ ，identified by Max Müller（As．u．Eur． 199）with a peak of the Lebanon called Saua in an inscription of Tiglat－pilesar．Burchardt considers this phonetically impossible．

15）Shtit lit．＂beaten＂．
16）H3－my may be compared with h3n3 my 27， 4 ． My，below 20，8；21，5；22，1．7；27，4，is clearly the enclitic particle discussed Admonitions p．105．The place－name $-b-\gamma-t$ cannot be Berytus，as Maspero would have it，on account of the unintelligible traces preceding，which must belong to the word．

17）$H$－$f$－$\underline{\text { ，}}$ ，here apparently an active verb with the meaning＂to fly from something in terror＂，is doubtless the Hebrew ten；Burch．no． 675 gives the word a wrong meaning．Perhaps in the sense＂terror＂ ＂dreadfulness＂，Сhamp．，Mon． 228 （collated）．
s8）Lit．＂the taste of a Maher＂；for the metaphor see Admonitions p． 4 I ．

19）Sense perhaps：thou hast to support thy chariot．

20）I＇hs，cf．25，6；Anast．III 4,3 （＝Anast．V 9，I corrupt）．
a halt in the evening ${ }^{1}$; all thy body is crushed and battered $(:)^{2}$; thy [limbs] 20,1 are bruised $(:)^{3} \ldots . . .$. from sleep ${ }^{4}$. Thou wakest, and it is the hour for starting ${ }^{5}$ in the drear(?) night. Thou art alone to harness (the horse); brother comes not to brother. A fugitive $(\%)^{6}$ has entered into the camp. The horse has been let loose ${ }^{7}$. The . . . . . . . has turned back (? $)^{8}$ in the night. Thy clothes have been taken away. Thy groom has awoke in the night, and marked what he has done $(:)^{9}$; he takes what remains and joins (the ranks of) the wicked, he mingles with the people of the Shosu and disguises himself ${ }^{10}$ as an Asiatic. 20,5 The enemy comes to pillage ${ }^{11}$ in secret. They find thee inert. Thou wakest up and findest no trace of them ${ }^{12}$; they have made away ${ }^{13}$ with thy things. Thou art becoming a fully-equipped ${ }^{14}$ Maher, thou fillest thy ear $(?)^{15}$.

## XVII. The Phoenician cities.

I will tell thee of another mysterious city. Byblos ${ }^{16}$ is its name; what is it like - and its(:) goddess, once again? Thou hast not trodden it. Come teach me ${ }^{17}$ about Berytus ${ }^{18}$, and about Sidon ${ }^{19}$ and Sarepta ${ }^{23}$. Where is the
I) Lit. "proceedest to stop"; for $s p r$ as an auxiliary verb cf. Anast. IV 9, in ; Anast. V io, 7. - Whac perhaps properly "to stop", "leave off" work, so Paheri 3; derivatively, "to return" from work, so d'Ovbiney 4, 3; R., I. H. 248, 85: wh $m$ rwh 3 also, in a somewhat similar sense, d'Orbiney 4, 7; 13, 7.
2) Hdhd , only here in this sense; cf. Urk. IV 710 for hdhd in a quite different sense.
3) $W \check{s}(3) w s(3)$, cf. Boh. orcщorw凹-, properly "to bruise" "crush", cf. Anast. IV 9, $7=$ Anast. III 5, 9; Anast. V 10, $7=$ Sall. I 3, 9; derivatively "to break" "smash", see below 26, I; then "to break open", Mayer A, recto 3, 4; unpublished Turin papyrus $=$ Spieg., Zwei Beiträge, p. 12.
4) I now believe that the word tmm (sic?) is on a misplaced fragment. The restoration of the passage is quite obscure.
5) F3 in this sense, see above $17,8$.
6) $N-h-r$ elsewhere (R., I. H. 143, 4I) means "to flee" and is probably connected with Semitic an: "to flow". Here the feminine article $t 3$ is incomprehensible, and the sense is obscure.
7) Tt "to untie" "loose", cf. Pup. Turin 23,6 ; 33, 9; 7., 10; Isvael stele 6; Harvis 500 recto 4, 8; Vatican Magical Pap. =A. Z. 31 (1893), 122.
8) Htht-(tw), the pseudoparticiple *hethot ; it is tempting to render "has been ransacked", comparing gorgr : Sor.\&er, but no evidence for this meaning is forthcoming in late-Egyptian.
9) 'Ir-nf can hardly be meant for "what has been done to him", cf. 18, 7; the sense is obscure.
io) See above p. 14*, n. I5.
ii) $\check{S}(3) d(3)$, probably שיׁדר "to be violent", "to violate", see Burch. no. 893.
12) For " "trace" cf. Anast. V 20, 4; obscure L., D. $I I I$ 140d, 5.
13) Rmn only once again in this sense, Urk. III 106; cf. mmmn.
14) Sab.̣ "to furnish" "equip", cf. Anast. IV 12, $6=$ Anast. $V$ 3; Anast. IV 13, $10=$ Koller 5, 8; Anast. IV i6 verso, 6; Harvis I 77, 9.
15) The $m$ of $m h-k m m d r-k$ is perlaps to be omitted; see Koller 3, 2. The sense may perhaps be: thou art listening attentively, and gradually acquiring the experience of a Maher.
16) For Byblos and its goddess Hathor see especially Sethe's article, A. $Z .45$ (1908), 7-I4. The list of Phoenician towns is in correct geographical order from North to South.
17) Mtr-i my ralso 21, 5; 22, 1.7; the infinitive here probably replaces the imperative, see Sethe, Verbum II § 566. Mtr $r$ "to instruct" someone about something, cf. Anast. IV 14.8; Decree of Haremheb, right side. 5 .
18) $B-\gamma-t$, Berytus, be-ru-ta in the Amarna tablets; only here in Egyptian texts, see Burch. no. 366 .
19) $D-d-n$, Sidon, צ゙ירון, mentioned also Unamon $1, x+24$.
 cylinder of Sennacherib, on the high road between Tyre and Sidon. In Egyptian only here.
21.1 stream of $\left\langle\underline{-}-n^{\prime}\right.$＇：What is＇$I \underline{t}^{2}$ like？They tell of another city in the sea， Tyre－the－port ${ }^{3}$ is its name．Whater is taken over to it in boats，and it is richer in fishes than in sand．

## XVIII．Places further southwards．

I will tell to thee another misery－the crossing of $D-r^{4}-m^{5}$ ．Thou wilt say：＂It burns more than a（hornet－）sting＂！＂How ill it goes with the Maher！ Come，set me on the road southward to the region of $\operatorname{Acco}(:)^{7}$ ．Where is the 21.5 road of Achshaph ${ }^{8}$ ？Beside（？）what city（does it pass）？Pray teach me about the mountain of $/ / \sigma^{2} r^{9}$ ；what is its peak like？Where is the mountain of Shechem ${ }^{10}$ ？ Who ．．．．．．．．．．．．．？The Maher－where does he make the journey to Hazor ${ }^{11}$ ？What is its stream like？Put me 〈on the route to $H-m-t^{13}, D-g_{-\gamma^{9}}$ 22,1 and $D-g^{\sigma}-r^{-}-\hat{c}^{\prime} l^{\prime}$ ，the playground ${ }^{13}$ of all Mahers．Pray teach me about his road． Make me behold $\int^{T}--n-\ldots{ }^{9}$ ！If one is travelling to＇$/-d-m-m n^{11}$ ，whither turns the face？Do not make 〈me（：）〉 withdraw（：）${ }^{15}$ from thy teaching，lead me（i）to know them！


#### Abstract

1）The stream of $N-\underline{l}-r$ can only be the Nahr el Kasîmîye，i．e．the lower courses of the Lîtinnî， see Maspero，Hist．Anc．，II p．6，note 6；the identi－ fication of the name $N^{*}-\frac{1}{n}$ with Litânî is however open to serious objections，see Max Müller，$A s$ ．$u$ ． Eur． 185.

2）＇I－t（Burcis．no．190）is Uzu in the Tyrian series of the Amarna letters；Ed．Meyer，Encycl． Bibl．col．3733，accepts Prašek＇s identification with Palaetyrus．

3）D－r，often in Egyptian（Burch．no．1227），


 is Tions．The island of Tyre lies about a mile from the shore and lacks both water and vegetation． For the translation＂Tyre－the－Port＂，see Max Müller， As．u．Eur．185，note 1 ．4）$T p-k s n$ only here；but $t p$ is used with various adjectives in a similar way，cf．$t p-n f r, t p-m t r, t p-w{ }^{\prime}$ ， $t p-s ̌ w$.

5）The locality $D-r^{-}-m$（the final $m$ may well be a corruption of $n[3]$ ）is compared by Max Müller with ジּ ミapoce of Judges 18，2；Joshua 19，41， which was in Dan．This seems too far south for the contert．De Rouge（quoted by Brugsch in the Critique）cleverly suggested that there is here a pun upon the word＂צִ？＂hornets＂；see next note．

6）$D d b$＂to sting＂is not elsewhere determined with the sign for fire；but $d d m$ ，demonstrably only another form of the same word，is so determined Pap．Turin 133，12．Thus de Rovgé＇s ingenious suggestion mentioned in the last note is brilliantly confirmed．

7）The word＂southward＂shows that the writer is following，or at least intends to follow，some
geographical order．Almost immediately after Tyre no place could more appropriately named than Acco， for which＇$k \cdot n$ is doubtless a corruption．All the known localities in this section lie to the S．of Carmel with the exception of Hazor．

8）It is probable that ${ }^{c}-k-s-p$ is a misspelling
 of Asher；see Burch．no．168．E．Meyer（Encycl． Bibl．3733）identifies ${ }^{〔}-k-s-p$ with ニード心；this is a particularly attractive suggestion，since Achzib is in the near neighbourhood of Acco；the equivalence $s=\mathrm{i}$ is however open to serious objections．

9）Unknown name．
ro）$S-k-m$ ，evidently the $=: \dot{\sim}$ of the old Testa－ ment，see Max Müller，As．u．Eur．394；probably it is Mount Ebal that is meant．

1i）$H-d-r$ clearly corresponds to Hebrew $-\cdots \pi$ （Burch．no．709）and to Ha－zu－ri of the Amarna Tablets．This town was situated near the waters of Merom，not far from Kedesh．

12）$H-m-t$ here and in the Palestine list of Thutmosis IlI is thought to be Hammath Inm south of the Sea of Galilee，see Max Müller，Die Palästina－ liste Thutm．III，p． 11 ；Burch．no． 678.

13）$T$ is－t swotwt lit．＂the place of promenading＂； switwt means＂to walk for pleasure＂＂io promenade＂ ＂make an excursion＂．

14）＇I－d－m－m（cf．＇I－t－mi－m in the list of Th．Iil）
 border between Benjamin and Judah；see Max Müller， Die Palästinaliste Thutm．III，p． 15.

15）Utterly corrupt；emend shinl？in－i（？）．

## XIX. Various other towns visited by the Maher.

Come let me tell thee of other towns, which are above $\left(\begin{array}{l} \\ \left.)^{1}\right)^{1}\end{array}{ }^{\text {them. Thou }}\right.$ hast not gone to the land of $T-h-s^{2}, K-w-r-m-r-n^{3}$, T-m-n-t ${ }^{4}$, Kadesh ${ }^{5}, D-p-r^{6}$, $22.5 I-d-y^{3}, H-r-n-m^{3}$. Thou hast not beheld Kirjath-anab and Beth-Sepher ${ }^{7}$. Thou dost not know ' $I-d-r-n^{8}$, nor yet $\underline{D}-d-p-t^{9}$. Thou dost not know the name of $\mathscr{H}-n(r) \cdot d^{10}$ which is in the land of Upe ${ }^{11}$, a bull upon its boundary, the scene of the battles of every warrior. Pray teach me concerning the appearance(:) of $K-y-n n^{12}$; acquaint me with Rehob ${ }^{13}$; explain Beth-sha-el ${ }^{14}$ and $T-r-k-\bar{c} l^{15}$. The stream 23,1 of Jordan ${ }^{16}$, how is it crossed:

Cause me to know ${ }^{17}$ the way of crossing over to Megiddo which is above it $(? ? \text { ? })^{18}$ Thou art a Maher skilled in the deeds of the brave ${ }^{19}$ ! A Maher such as thou art is found (able) to march(? $)^{20}$ at the head of an army! O

1) Hry is perhaps corrupted from the form of the preposition $h \mathbf{h} r$ used before the suffixes $-t n$ and $-s n$; a difficult phrase $n t i ̉ h r-f$ again below 23, i. The places here mentioned appear to range from the North of Syria to the extreme South of Palestine.
2) T-h-s is very frequent in Egyptian texts; Tah-si of the Amarna letters, where it is mentioned together with the land of Ube, see Burch. no. in 28 .
3) Unknown name.
4) $T-m-n-t$ is surely not ran- in Judah; for while of the seven names here given four are unknown, the other three are N. of Damascus.
5) $K d s ̌$ is Kadesh on the Orontes, see especially Breasted, The Battle of Kadesh, 13-21. A Kadesh was mentioned above in 19, I, see p. 21*, n. 5 .
6) $D-p-r$, a town stormed by Rameses II, probably quite close to Kadesh, see Max Müller, As. u. Eur.221; Breasted (Ancient Records III 159) places it further south.
7) The Ms. has Kirjath ${ }^{〔}-n-b$ and Beth $-\underline{t}-p-r$. Max Müller (As. u. Eur. 170) formerly proposed to interchange Kirjath and Beth in these names, since - E-nMp. (so LXX rightly) is mentioned in conjunction with $=\mathfrak{Z}$ in Joshua I 5, 49. However Daressy reads Kirjath- $-n-b(w)$ in a list of foreign names at Abydos (Rec. de Trav. 21, 2), where Mariette read Kirjath- ${ }^{-}-n-t(w)$; and Max Mưller himself has found Kirjath- ${ }^{-}-n-b-w$ in a palimpsest list at Karnak (Researches I 57,14 ). There can be little doubt, in any case, that the same places are meant as are referred to the passage of Joshua; these are situated in the hill-country of Judah.
8) For $i-d-\gamma-n$ the $i-d-\gamma-m$ of the list of Sheshonk (19) and nse have been compared, see Burch. no. 201. The Adoraim of the O. T. is iden-
tified with modern Düra, to the S . W. of Hebron in Southern Judaea.
9) Cf. the name $D-d-p-t-r$ in the Sheshonk list (34); otherwise unknown.
io) Unidentified.
ii) See above P. 20*, n. i2.
10) $K-y-n$ is very probably identical with $K n$ in the Annals of Thutmosis IlI ( $U r k$. IV 655. 657), near Megiddo, the Gina of the Amarna letters; see Max Më̀leer in Encycl. Bibl. col. 3547. - The injured word for "appearance" (or "statue" ??) is read sdi by Brugsch and compared, probably wrongly, with the late word sdd (Worterb. 1357).
11) $R-h-b$ is $=$ רְ in Asher, often mentioned in Egyptian texts; see Burch. no. 628, and Max Müller, As. u. Eur. 153.
 glyphs, see Burch. no. 388; not localised, but it occurs next Rehob, as here, in the Sheshonk list (16).
12) Unknown; it is tempting to transpose and read $k-r-t-i r$ i. e. a $E x-n-p$; so Chabas, but see Max Müller, As. u. Eur. i75, footnote.
13) $Y-r-d$ - $n$, in Hebrew iT--, only here; the word ought to have the determinative of water.
14) See the critical note.
15) Nti $h r-f$ can hardly be translated "which is upon it", since Megiddo is not on the Jordan, while the writer's knowledge of Palestinian geography was evidently admirable. On the other hand to render "qui est en outre de cela" (Chabas), comparing nti $h r y-s n 22,3$, is a very bold expedient.
16) $P r^{-}-$-ib, cf. 26, 9; Anast. II 3, 6; Sall. II 10, 1. 9.
17) $S$ - $g$ here only. - For the idiom $g m r$ see above p. $17^{*}$, n. 3 .

Mariannu ${ }^{1}$, forward to shoot $(?)^{2}$ ! Behold the . . . . . . ${ }^{3}$ is in a ravine ${ }^{4}$ two thousand cubits deep, filled with boulders ${ }^{5}$ and pebbles ${ }^{5}$. Thou drawest back (? $)^{2}$, thou graspest the bow, thou dost ......... . ${ }^{3}$ thy left hand, thou causest the great 23,5 ones to look. Their eyes are good, thy hand grows weak(?)". Thou makest the name of every Maher, officers of the land of Egypt ${ }^{11}$. Thy name becomes like (that of) $K^{-}\left(d-r-c-y\right.$, the chief of ' $I-s-r^{12}$, when the hyena ${ }^{13}$ found him in the balsam-tree ${ }^{14}$. - The(?) narrow defile ${ }^{15}$ is infested(?) with Shosu concealed beneath the bushes; some of them are of four cubits or of five cubits, from head (?:) to foot $(?)^{16}$, fierce of face, their heart is not mild, and they hearken not to coaxing. Thou art alone, there is no helper(? $)^{17}$ with thee, no army ${ }^{18}$ 24, behind thee. Thou findest no . . . . . ${ }^{19}$ to make for thee a way of crossing.

1) $M-r-y-n$, a word found often in Egyptian texts in reference to Syrian "warriors" (Burch.no.470). The translation "lords" seems to me erroneous, though doubtless the warrior-class was held in high honour in the small Syrian states. This translation is probably due to the old etymology from Aramaic ュ (Chabas); another Semitic derivation that has been proposed is from ערה "to be contentious" "rebellious". Winckler has recently found the word in the form mavianmu in the tablets from Boghazkoï, and boldly connects the word with the Vedic márya "man" "hero" (Or. Lit. Zeit., I3 [1910], 291-298). Both here and in 28, 1 it is apparently parallel to $m-h-r$ (Maher).
2) $N \not h r-k$, cf. 15,$8 ; 24,1$; cf. too Düm., Hist. Inschr. II 47, 4 and the passages quoted by Griffith, Proc. S. B. A. 19, 298. N hr-tn $r s$ is used as an exclamation "forward!" in Piankhi 95.
3) A corrupt word with the determinative of land; probably from the stem $n^{\text {c }}$. - It seems necessary to delete the preposition $h r$ after $m i k$.
4) $\check{S}$ - $d-\gamma$ - $t$ only here and in 24,3 ; the approximate sense seems certain,
5) Dh-wt only here and $24,2$.
6) The word ' $-n(v)$ is the Coptic ad, see Burch. no. 270.274.
7) $S-w-b-b$ is thought to be $=\Sigma \because \dot{9}$ "to turn back" (Burch. no. 768), though neither determinative nor sense seems very appropriate. The word cannot be identified with $コ=0$, as Chabas supposed.
8) $P-\gamma-\underline{t}$, an unknown verb.
9) Wrw $n f r$ (sic) is usually divided from what follows; thus Erman translated "so ermüdet ihr Auge auf deiner Hand". But gnn is not used of the eye, nor does it mean "to grow tired"; and the preposition $h l r$ would be strangely used. Probably $h r$ should be omitted; for gnn dt-k cf. Koller 5, 3; R., I. H. 241, 43 .
10) So Burchardt (under no. 32), who proposes as the meaning of these words "thou slayest like a lion, o... . Maher". Whether the remainder of this translation be correct or not, it seems probable, in Gardiner.
spite of Burchardt's objections, that the last word is
II) Without emending it is impossible to translate otherwise; $n b$ cannot here mean "lord".
11) 'I-s-r (mentioned among South-Palestinian names under Sethos I, L., $D$. IlI 140a) is probably the tribal name und ihre Nachbarstämme, p. 540.
12) Htm-t, see above p. 21*, n. 12.
13) $B k i$, Hebrew $x==$, only here (Burch. no. 374).
14) Hitherto it has been customary to connect lir ts $g 3 w-t$ and what follows with the preceding simile, which then only ends with swmwn-w in 23, 8 . This view is untenable for several reasons: (i) the first sentence of the simile ("when the hyena found him in the balsam-tree in the narrow defile, infested with Shosu concealed beneath the branches") is breathlessly long and gives no good sense; the presence of the Shosu would diminish, rather than increase, the dangerousness of the hyena; (2) the words "some of them" are incompatible with the singular word "the hyena" in the text of Anast. I. The difficulty is at once solved by the omission of $h r$ before $t 3 \mathrm{~g} 3 w-t$; from this point onwards it is the journey of the Mahar in the mountainous pass ( $g 3 w-t$ also in the sequel 24,6 ) that is described, not the adventures of the prince of Asher. The statement "some were of four cubits or five cubits" (i. e. 6 foot Io inches to 8 foot 6 inches) now refers to the Shosu, as with due allowance for Egyptian exaggeration it well may do; and the words "they do not listen to coaxing" obtain a more natural and less metaphorical meaning.
15) Whether the suggestion find in the critical note is correct remains quite uncertain. For the (collective?) form $r d-y t$ I have no parallel.
16) For $d-r$ the context clearly demands some word for "helper", and I propose " $-d-r$, comparing 16,2 ; צny "messenger" is not appropriate.
17) $\underline{D}-b-i$, the Hebrew NבּzT; cf. 27,1 and Burch. no. 1207.
18) ' $I-\gamma-i-\gamma$, an unknown word; the sense required is "guide" or the like. Burch. no. 92 differently.

Thou decidest(?) (the matter) by marching onward ${ }^{\text {' }}$, though thou knowest not the road. Shuddering(?) seizes thee ${ }^{2}$, (the hair of) thy head stands up(?) ${ }^{3}$, thy soul is in thy hand. Thy path is filled with boulders and pebbles ${ }^{4}$, without a passable track $\left(? ?^{5}\right)^{5}$, overgrown with reeds ${ }^{6}$ and brambles ${ }^{7}$, briers (?) and wolfs-pad ${ }^{8}$. The ravine ${ }^{9}$ is on one side of thee, the mountain rises $(?)^{10}$ on the other. On thou ${ }^{24,5}$ goest jolting(?) ${ }^{11}$, thy chariot on its side. Thou fearest to crush $(?)^{12}$ thy horse. If it be thrown towards the abyss(? $)^{13}$, thy collar-piece(? $)^{14}$ is left bare(?), thy girth $(?)^{15}$ falls. Thou unfastenest the horse ${ }^{16}$ so as to repair ${ }^{17}$ the collar-piece(?) at the top of the defile. Thou art not expert in the way of binding it together; thou knowest not how to tie(? $)^{18}$ it. The . . . . . . . . . ${ }^{19}$ is left where it is; the chariot is too heavy to bear the load ${ }^{20}$ of it(?). Thy heart is weary. Thou startest trotting(? $)^{21}$.

1) Wd 1 $^{-r i-t w}$ appears to be a compound verb construed as a pseudoparticiple; for pseudoparticiple 2 nd $p$. sing. absolutely cf. ' $h$ '-tw 5,6 ; snd-tw 24,4 ; in any case the sense is clear. $N \not h r-k$, see p. $25^{*}$, n. 2.
2) D-n-n may be connected with ixs "to be cold"; cf. for the construction $t 3 y-k p$ isdd 24,8 .
3) $\dot{S} \cdot n(v)-f$ see above p. $13^{*}$, n. 14 .
4) For $d \underline{l}-w t$ and ' $-n(r)$ see p. 25', notes 5 and 6.
5) A desperate guess.
6) ' $I$-s-b- $\gamma$, also Sall. $I 7,5$ as a tall kind of reed, probably a species of bamboo; the common word for "whip" (Burch. no. 134) is obviously related.
7) $K$ - $d$, Hebrew :ip, see Burch. no. 955 .
8) The plants $n-h$ "the dangerous" and $t b w i-$ wnš "wolf's-sandals" are not named elsewhere.
9) $\check{S}-d-r-t$, only in 23,3 above.
10) Read here the verb ' $h$ '; with a postulated word ' $h$ ' "cliff" the construction would be awkward.
i i) $H \cdot s-k-t$, to judge from the determinatives a verb of motion, only here.
11) Mdd "to press", here possibly of crushing the horse against the side of the mountain; a less probable rendering would be "to press forward" "urge on".
12) Without emendation this sentence can only mean: if the horse be let slip at the edge of the chasm. It is clear from what follows that the horse is not pictured as completely lost over the precipice, but as having slipped and broken part of its harness. For "abyss" the word dw3.t "netherworld" (misspelled) is used.
13) D-t, a part of the chariot, to which something made of leather was attached, cf. 26, 6; named also in "the $d-t$ (plural) of thy chariot are Anat and Astarte" Edinburgh, Poem concerning the chariot, verso 12.

Since in the latter passage a two-horse chariot is envisaged, whereas our text only refers to a chariot with one horse (an interesting point, as one-horse chariots are rare in Ancient Egypt, see Wilkinson, Ways and Manners [ed. Birch], II p. 234), it seems clear that the singular here must point to some portion of the vehicle directly connected with the horse. This cannot be the "pole" or "shaft" ('), nor yet the "yoke" ( $n l h b$ ); possibly the "saddle" or "collarpiece" is meant. When it is said that this is "uncovered" "left bare" it may be meant that the leather padding ( $m-\check{s}-y$ cf. 26,6 ) is torn off. $K-w-s ̌-n$ might then be "the girth", which would naturally fall simultaneously. The horse has then to be extricated from the chariot in order that the "collar-piece" may be mended; this is "tied" or "lashed" on to the yoke(?). This explanation however is purely conjectural.
15) $K-w-s-n$ only here; see last note.
16) Ntf "to untie" "loosen", cf. Israel stele 6; Pap. mag. Harris, verso A6; Pap. Turin 18+73, 1. - Htri here and below seems to mean the horse and chariot combined, whereas ssm-t is the horse alone.
17) Sm3m "to slay" makes no sense; emend sm wi "renew".
18) $G-w-t-n$, only here and in Koller $3,2=$ Anast. IV 3, I, an obscure passage where the object is $p-t-\gamma$ "threads".
19) 'Inkfkf-t, only here.
20) "Chariot" is here hitri, i. e. horse and chariot combined; 3tp-st probably means "to load it" (the $i n k f k f-t$ ) in the chariot, my rendering above being a paraphrase.
21) F3 reflexively, cf. d'Orbiney 6, 3; 10, 6; 13, 1; Sall. I 2, 11; Newberry, Amherst Papyni 21, 1, 2; the idiom is preserved in Demotic and Coptic, see Spiegelberg, Petubastis, Index, p. $22^{*}$, footnote. $\underline{T} n \underline{t} n$ only here; Anast. IV 8,8 has $t i t i t$ apparently in a similar sense.

The sky is revealed ${ }^{1}$. Thou fanciest ${ }^{3}$ that the enemy is behind thee; trembling 25,1 seizes thee ${ }^{3}$. Would that thou hadst a hedge ${ }^{4}$ of ..... to put upon the other side! The chariot is damaged (? ${ }^{5}$ at the moment thou findest a camping-place $(?)^{6}$. Thou perceivest the taste ${ }^{7}$ of pain! Thou hast entered Joppa ${ }^{8}$, and findest the flowers blossoming $^{9}$ in their season. Thou forcest a way in(?) ........... . ${ }^{10}$ Thou findest the fair maiden who keeps watch over the gardens. She takes thee to 25,5 herself for a companion, and surrenders to thee her charms. Thou art recognized, and bearest witness (against thyself[[]]). Thou art dismissed (?) ${ }^{11}$ from (the rank of) Maher. Thy shirt of fine linen of Upper Egypt, thou sellest it. Tell me how $(?)^{12}$ thou liest every night, with a piece of woollen cloth $(?)^{13}$ over thee. Thou slumberest, for thou art worn out ${ }^{14}$. A ........ ${ }^{15}$ takes away thy bow, thy knife for the belt ${ }^{16}$, and thy quiver ${ }^{17}$. Thy reins have been cut in the darkness. Thy horse is gone and is speeding(?? ${ }^{18}$ over the slippery ground ${ }^{19}$. The road 26,1 stretches before it. It smashes ${ }^{2)}$ thy chariot and makes thy ......... . ${ }^{21}$; thy weapons fall to the ground, and are buried(? $\left.{ }^{2}\right)^{22}$ in the sand; they become desert(?).


#### Abstract

I) Lit. "the sky is opened"; the Maher emerges from the narrow thickly-wooded defile. Maspero (in the Études dédiées à Leemans, p. 4-6) rightly identifies the defile ( $g 3 w-t$ ) here described with that mentioned in the Annals of Thutmosis 1II as in the vicinity of Megiddo; it is the Wady el Arah, a wooded pass that would be the natural haunt of brigand


 Beduins.2) ' $I b$, see above p. 9*, n. 9 .
3) Lit. "thou takest the terror"; for the construction and the use of the definite article, cf. 24, 1 .
4) 'Inb seems to be simply the word for "wall" in a specialized sense. It is impossible to connect inb here with the plant inbi mentioned Eloquent Peasant R $26=$ Butler 12; Ebers 21, 17; 83, 7.
5) $\underline{H}^{\prime} k$ literally "to shave"; apparently the chariot is damaged at the very moment when the Maher is about to stop for the night.
6) For the temporal sentence $g m-k s d r y$ (probably read $s \underline{d} v y-t$, cf. $s \underline{d} v-t$ 18, 1) without a retrospective pronoun governed by a preposition cf. above 17, 1-2.
7) On this metaphor see p. 2 I $^{*}$, n. 18.
8) Y-p, Hebrew $1 \Sigma\urcorner, i a-p u$ in the El Amarna letters; Burch. no. 215.
9) Goodwin translated "thou findest the fruit trees blooming in their season"; $3 h 3 h$ is "to bloom", but could not possibly refer to the ripeness of fruit. In Anast. IV 12, 8 (i) 3 h (this reading seems more probable than $\stackrel{s}{3}^{3}$, see the analogous word "field" and Spiegelberg's notes Rec. de Trav. 24, 180-2) does seem to mean "fruit", but everywhere else it signifies "flowers" (e. g. Mar., Karnak 34, 28; Urk. IV 462), which suits the verb $3 h 3 h$ far better.

1o) Wtn is usually "to make a breach in a wall" cf. Abbott 2, 13. 17; Daressy, Ostraca 25269; "to
pierce", A nast. III 6, 9. Sethe objects to the word on grammatical grounds and emends wstn (Verbum II § 195). The crux lies in the last words of the sentence, which look like $n$ wnm "of eating". The preceding sentence has however nothing to do with fruit (see last note), and it is rather doubtful whether wnm "eating" should be read, as the same group occurs below in 28,5 , where any reference to eating seems out of the question.
11) W$\underline{d}^{c}$ "to sever"; w $\underline{d}^{c} m d i z$ only here.
12) Corrupt words.
13) $S$ - $g$ only here; the determinative suggests wool.
14) Whs, see above p. $21^{*}$, n. 20.
15) Hmy is apparently subject, but is puzzling; it cannot be a fitting of the chariot (cf. Koller 1,4 ), unless $t y-k$ hmy-t be emended; $i \underline{t} 3$ would then be passive.
16) Sft $n$ ḳniw, here only.
17) 'I-s-p-t, Hebrew הפuin, see Burch. no. I37.
18) $T 3 m-\gamma-i$ is probably an idiomatic expression for "to speed" or the like. $M-\gamma-i$ cannot be the word for "groom" for several reasons: 1 ) the first radical is differently spelt, cf. 1,$8 ; 20,3 ; 2$ ) the definite article is wanting; 3) $t 3$ would require an object, which is lacking.
19) $H-\gamma-k-t$, Hebrew aphn, only here.
20) $W \check{s}(3) w s ̌(3)$, see above p. $22^{*}$, n. 3 .
21) Corrupt words.
22) $T(i) m s$ "to cover" or "bury" is undoubtedly the same word as tms in the sentence "bury your staves in it" (scil. "the barley"), Pap. Rylands IX 11,5; and both are clearly identical with twaic "to bury". The derivation of the latter from $\sin 3-t 3$ seems to rest on nothing but the similarity of meaning; and it is difficult to save this etymology by assuming that tms is a variant spelling of $\operatorname{sm} \mathrm{m}^{3}-\mathrm{t} 3$, metathesis having already occurred.

Thy ．．．．begs the ．．．．．．thy mouth＇：＂Give（me）food and water，for I have arrived safely＂．They turn a deaf ear，they do not listen，they do not heed ${ }^{2}$ thy tales．Thou makest thy way into the armoury ${ }^{3}$ ；workshops surround thee ${ }^{4}$ ；smiths 26,5 and leather－workers ${ }^{5}$ are all about thee．They do all that thou wishest．They attend to thy chariot，so that it may cease from lying idle．Thy pole ${ }^{6}$ is newly shaped $(?)^{7}$ ，its ．．．．．．．．${ }^{8}$ are adjusted．They give leather coverings（？$)^{9}$ to thy collar－piece（？）${ }^{10} \ldots$ They supply ${ }^{11}$ thy yoke．They adjust（？）thy ．．．．${ }^{12}$（worked） with the chisel（？$)^{13}$ to（？）the ．．．．．．．．．${ }^{14}$ They give a ．．．．．．（of metal ${ }^{15}$ to thy whip ${ }^{16}$ ；they fasten［to］it lashes ${ }^{17}$ ．Forth thou goest quickly to fight on the open field，to accomplish the deeds of the brave ${ }^{18}$ ！

## XX．The first stations on the Syrian high－road．End of the Controversy． Conclusion．

Good sir，thou honoured scribe，Maher cunning of hand，at the head of the troops ${ }^{19}$ ，in front of the army ${ }^{20}$ ，［ $I$ will describe to］thee the［lands］of the extremity of the land of Canaan ${ }^{21}$ ．Thou answerest me neither good nor evil； thou returnest me no report．Come I will tell thee［of many things（？？）］；〈turn（？）〉
I）Difficult and corrupt words．
2）Hn＂to heed＂，see Sethe，Die Einsetzung des Veziers，p． 21 ，note $9 \mathbf{1}$ ．
3）$H p \bar{s}$ ，see above p． $13^{*}$ ，n． 7.
4）K．＂to surround＂，cf．especially Anast．
IV 12， 4 ．
5）$T b-w$ properly＂sandal－makers＂．
6）The＂is certainly the＂pole＂of the chariot （also in the case of a single－horse chariot doubtless the double shafts）；for the pole particularly good wood was selected，cf．Koller 2，I；the pole comes from Upe，Anast．IV 16，II；a chariot is bought， ＂its pole（＇）for $3 d b n$ ，the chariot（itself）for $5 d b n$＂， Anast．III 6，7．
7）$G-r-p$ occurs only here，but is certainly iden－ tical with $g-\gamma-b$, Anast．IV 16，II $=$ Koller 2，1，also in reference to the chariot－pole．In Aramaic こb i $^{\text {is }}$ a knife for cutting，in Phoenician a barber．
8）Dby－wt，only here；sense unknown．
9）$M-\check{s}-y$ ，again only in Koller 2,1 ．
10）$D$－t，see above p．26＊，n．14．The following word $h 3 w$ is quite obscure．
11）For＇${ }^{\text {i }}$ r cf．Pap．Turin 67，10；Unamon 2，42； R．，I．H．201，8；metaphorically＂to acomplish＂plans， commands，cf．Unamon 2， 32 ；R．，I．H．145，59；Pap． Bibl．Nat．197，3， 4.6.
12）The $d b w$ must be an important part of the chariot；it might be of gold，see Urk．IV 663． 669.

13）The usual phrase for＂worked with the chisel＂is $t 3(w) m$ bsn－t，cf．Harvis $I$ 6，7．9；47，3．4： $\underline{T} 3(w) \quad m$ t 3 bsn occurs Koller 1，7，where as in the present passage it is hard to explain．

14）$M$－$h-t$ occurs（with determinative of wood） once again Anast．IV 16，12，where it is a part of the chariot adorned with metal；the meaning is un－ known．

15）＇I－t－m－y，only here．
16）＇$I-s-b-r$ ，see Burch．no．I 34 ．
17）$M-t-d-t$ ，only here．
18）$P r^{〔}-i b$ ，see above p． $24^{*}$, n． 19.
19）$N-{ }_{-}^{\text {－}} \gamma-n$ ，see above p．19＊，n． 8.
20）$D-b-i$ ，see above p． $25^{*}$ ，n． 18 ．
21）T3 $\overline{\text { 2 }}$ р $K-n^{6}-n$ ，in Hebrew here with $t 3 n$ ．$P K-n^{6}-n$ is not very often mentioned in the Egyptian texts，see Burch．no．988；except in Anast．III 8， $5=$ Anast．IV 16， 4 it has always the definite article．So far as the Egyptian texts are con－ cerned，Canaan might be the name of merely the south of Philistia；but Kinahhi in the Amarna letters appears to indicate a wider extension．The present passage describes the localities lying between the fortress town of Zaru and the Philistine city of Gaza， and is strikingly illustrated by the scenes on the N ． Wall of Karnak depicting the conquests of Sethos I （L．，D．III 128b；128a；127a；126b in this order）． The accuracy of the author＇s geographical knowledge is convincingly attested by a comparison with these sculptures．
thy face(?) 〈towards(?)> ${ }^{1}$ the fortress of the "Ways of Horus". I begin for thee with the "House of Sese" ${ }^{3}$. Thou hast never trodden it; thou hast not eaten the fish of (the waters of) ....... ; thou hast not bathed in them. Come prithee ${ }^{4}$ 27,5 let me recount to thee $H-t-t-1-n^{5}$; where is its fortress? Come let me tell thee about the district of Buto of Sese ${ }^{6}$, "In(?) his house of victories(?) of Usimarê" ${ }^{7}, S-b-\bar{e} l^{8}$ and ' $16-s-k \cdot b^{9}$. Let me describe to thee the manner of ' $-y-n-n-n^{10}$; thou knowest not its position ${ }^{11}$. $N-k-s^{12}$ and $H-b-r-t^{13}$, thou hast never seen them since thy birth. O Mohar, where is Raphia ${ }^{14}$ ? What is its wall like? How many leagues ${ }^{15}$ march is it to Gaza ${ }^{16}$ ? Answer quickly! Render me a report, that I may call thee a ${ }^{28,1}$ Maher, that I may boast to others of thy name of Mariannu ${ }^{17}$. So will I say to them(?). Thou art angry at the thing I [have] said to thee. I am experienced in every rank ${ }^{18}$. My father taught me, he knew and instructed(?:) (me) very often. I know how to hold the reins ${ }^{19}$, beyond thy skill indeed! There is no
I) The text here is damaged and probably also corrupt. The crux of the passage is to determine the grammatical construction of the words $p$ htm $n$ W3-wt Hr.
2) W3-wt $[\mathrm{HV}]$ is now known to be an alternative name for the celebrated frontier fortress of T3rw (Zaru), see Erman's article A. Z. 43 (1906), 72-73. This was the starting-point of the great military road to Palestine followed by all the early armies; thus by that of Sethos I, cf. $p$ htm $n T 3 r w$, L., D. III 128b, completed by Champ., Not. Descr. II 94. Hitherto Zaru has been placed in the neighbourhood of the modern town Ismailiyeh; but Herr Küthmann, whose researches on the subject will be published in a thesis entitled DieOstgrenze Aegyptens, appears to have good reasons for placing it much farther to the North, in the vicinity of El Kantara.
3) $T^{c}-t S s w$, identical with $T^{\prime}-t R^{\prime} m s s w-m r y-$ ' $I m n$, which was reachable by boat from Zaru, see Anast. V24,8. Also doubtless the same as $T^{c}-t p M 3 i$ "The House of the Lion" in the Sethos reliefs, L., D. IlI I28a; this too is connected with Zaru by water, possibly, as Küthmann suggests, the Pelusiac branch of the Nile.
4) $H(3) n(3)$ "would that", cf. Anast. IV II I 12; Sall. III 6, 7 (the hieroglyphic texts have here $h^{3}$ ); cf. too $h 3 \mathrm{my}$, above 19,6 .
5) $H-t-y-n$ is very plausibly compared by Max Müller (As. u. Eur. I 34) with the name of a well in L., $D$. III 128 a (under the horse's tail), but all the copyists confirm the reading $h-p-?-n$, (not $h-t-n$ ) there. The name is now destroyed, as N. de G. Davies, to whom I am deeply indebted for a collation of the Karnak reliefs, informs me.
6) Identical with $W 3 d y-t n$ Sty-Mr-n-Pth in L., $D$. III I28a. - Mi $r k($ read $n k$ ? $) r$, see p. 13*, n. 8 .
7) In the Karnak scenes (L., D. III 127a) the next fortress to that of Buto is called $P$-nhtw $n$ (?) Sty-Mr-n-Pth; with the natural change of the royal name Sethos into that of Rameses II (cf. last note),
this name becomes clearly similar to $m$ py-f nhtw $W s r-m 3^{c} t-R^{c}$ in the papyrus. The meaning of nhtwe (masc. sing.) is not certain; possibly the preposition $m$ should be omitted.
8) $S-b-\bar{e} l$, an unknown locality.
9) ' $I b-s-k-b$, apparently a pool rather than a well, occurs in its right position L., D. III 127 a.
io) The Iocality ' $-y-n-n$ is unknown.
i i) $T p-r d$, lit. "principle" or "rule", doubtless here means the "position" in relation to other places; cf.28,8.
12) $N$ - h-s occurs in the Sethos reliefs, though it is not depicted in any of the publications. Davies writes to me that under the horses' tails in L., $D$. III 126b there should be inserted a small fortress over a pool or well; this bears the name " $N\left({ }^{3}\right)$ -$h(3)-s(w)$ (det. of water) of the Prince . . . . ."
13) Before $H-b-\gamma-t$ in the papyrus there is an $r$, which should probably be omitted. This name also possibly occurs, though in a damaged form, in the Sethos reliefs; it is the fortress at the top of L., $D$. III 126b, with the inscription "The town which his Majesty newly built at the well of $H-b(?)-[r]-t$ " the stroke after the second letter shows that this can be neither $w$ nor 3 as the publications give.
14) R-ph, Raphia, the modern Rafah, a town not far from the sea about 22 or 23 miles south of Gaza. Also mentioned in the palimpsest list of Sethos I, Max Müller, Eg. Researches I 57, 16; 58, 17.
15) $W r$, see above p. $18^{*}$, n. 19. - The length -of the itr, or schoenus, is not yet determined, see A. Z. 41 (1904), 58-60.
16) $\Gamma$ - $d-t$, , $\Gamma \alpha \sigma \alpha$, the southernmost of the Philistine cities; elsewhere in Egyptian spelt G-d-t, Burch. no. io7 1.
17) Swh $m$ "to boast of", see Admonitions p. 28. - $M-\gamma-y-n$, see above p. $25^{*}$, n. I.
18) Hori goes on to contrast his own knowledge and skill with the ignorance of Amenemope. These sentences are very obscure in part.
19) $\operatorname{Hn}-(r)-y$, see above p. $20^{*}$, n. Io.
brave man who can measure himself with me ${ }^{1}$ ! I am initiated in the decrees(?) of Month ${ }^{2}$.

How marred is every (word) that cometh out over thy tongue! How feeble ${ }^{3}$ are thy sentences! Thou comest to me wrapt up ${ }^{4}$ in confusions, loaded with errors. Thou splittest words asunder, plunging ahead(?) ${ }^{5}$. Thou art not wearied of groping ${ }^{6}$. Be strong! Forwards! Get thee along(? $)^{\text {? }}$ ! Thou dost not fall. What is it like not to know what one has reached ${ }^{8}$ ? And how will it 28,5 end $^{9}$ ? I retreat ${ }^{10}$. Behold, I have arrived. Thy passion is soothed $(? ?)^{11}$, thy heart is calm. Do not be angry ${ }^{12}$. ................... ${ }^{13}$. I curtail(: $)^{14}$ for thee the end of thy letter, I answer(?) for thee what thou hast said. Thy narratives are collected upon my tongue, established upon my lips. They are confusing to hear ${ }^{15}$; none who converses(? ? ${ }^{16}$ (with thee) can unravel them. They are like the talk of a man of the Delta with a man of Elephantine ${ }^{17}$.

Nay, but thou art a scribe of the Great Gates, reporting the affairs of the lands, goodly and fair [to] him who sees it ${ }^{18}$. Say not that I have made thy name stink ${ }^{19}$ before others(?). Behold, I have told thee the nature of the Maher; I have traversed for thee Retenu ${ }^{20}$. I have marshalled before ${ }^{21}$ thee the foreign countries all at once, and the towns in their order. Attend(:) $)^{22}$ to me, and look at them calmly ${ }^{23}$; (thus) thou shalt be found able to describe them ${ }^{24}$, and shalt become a travelled(?) .............. . ${ }^{25}$

1) Stn $r$ h $w-$, see above p. $15^{*}$, n. ıо.
2) Wn $m$ occurs once again on a writing-board in University College, London ( $=$ Rec.de. Trav. 19,95), where $w n-i$ tw should be emended for wn-twi. The determinatives of wd are perhaps wrongly borrowed from wdb. Month is here the war-god, so that the sentence is a further assertion of the martial qualities of Hori.
3) Wi(3)wỉ(3), cf. Berlin Ostracon 10616; Pap. Bibl. Nat. 198, 2, 21; Medinet Habu, unpublished, under the Balcony in the southern colonnade.
4) Bud, see p. 13*, n. 15 .
5) Lit. "in entering before thyself"; the sense is apparently that Amenemope continues to write in haste, heedless of the injuries which his precipitate behaviour causes him to inflict upon the language. - N h hr-k, see p. 25*, n. 2.
6) Gmg $m$ "touchings" "fingerings"; for $g m g m$ thus as the equivalent of болбл palpare, cf. Harris 500, recto 1, 2; 7, 12.
7) The writer sarcastically encourages Amenemope to persevere in his writing. - I suspect that the words $i m i \quad h s-3 s t-t w$ are simply a corruption of $m s-t w$ (cf. I5, 8), with elements borrowed from $3 s$ "to hasten" and shis "to run".
8) I. e. thou art ignorant of thy plight.
9) Phwi nn m ill ; this phrase occurs again on Petrie Ostracon 45.
ı) Read $b h 3-i$. Hori announces his intention of retiring from the contest.

1 I) $H n-t w$ might possibly be imperative: "give in!"
12) $H \underset{d}{d} n$, see above p. 10*, n. 16.
13) $S y$ is unknown; for $n$ imw cf. p. 27*, n. 1o.
14) $\underline{H}^{\text {c }} \boldsymbol{k}$ lit. "shave", probably here in the sense "to curtail" or "to summarize".
15) Lit. "confused in hearing".
16) For $3^{4 c}$ cf. Israel stele 22, where "conversing" clearly seems to be meant; so too perhaps Sall. I 8, I. Compare too the difficult epithet (or title) $3^{r "}$ of which Spiegelberg has collected the examples Rec. de Trav. 14, 41.
17) This sentence is rightly often quoted in proof of the existence of dialects during the New Kingdom.
18) I. e. probably, "who sees what thou doest".
19) $T m$ - $k$ optatively, see p.11*, n.4. - Hnš, Coptic凹nous, only here transitively.
20) Tnw is doubtless a corruption of Rtnw, as throughout in the great Berlin manuscript of Sinuhe.
21) Lit. "I have led to thee".
22) Hn "to bow" "incline", with the meaning "to attend to", cf. above 26,3 .
23) $K b$, see above p. 9*, n. 7 .
24) Gm $r$, see $\mathrm{p} . \mathrm{I}^{*}$, n. 3 .
25) For the sense cf. 20,6. Hori holds out to Amenemope the hope that he may some day appear to be a much-travelled warrior.

## Appendix. The three technical problems of Anastasi I (14, 2-17, 2).

In the course of the controversy the scribe Hori propounds three problems connected with the building and erection of monuments such as a "royal scribe in command of the soldiers" might be called upon to solve. Amenemope's vaunted skill in his profession is thereby put to a very severe test, and in every instance he finds himself unable to reply. The technicalities of these passages are such that the modern Egyptologist is placed in a far worse quandary than this ancient scribe; so far from being able to supply the answers, he is barely able to understand the questions. I shall here attempt, as far as is possible, to define the nature of the three problems; in dealing with this difficult subject I have had the great advantage of consulting with Professor Borchardt, the first authority in such matters, and I am indebted to him for a number of valuable hints.

Problem I ( $14,2-8$ ). This deals with the building of a brick ramp of unusually large dimensions. The Egyptian word is st3, which etymologically means a place over which something is dragged or drawn. In the royal tombs the sloping, downward, passages were called st3 utr "the divine passage". In Piankhi gi sts is an ascending ramp used for scaling the walls of a hostile fortress. That st $3^{3}$ here is an ascending ramp is clear from the description, the length being 730 cubits (more than 383 metres), and the breadth 55 cubits (nearly 29 metres). The ramp is said to consist "of $\mathrm{I} 20 \mathrm{r}-\rho-t$ ", concerning which we later learn that each measured " 30 cubits, by a breadth of 7 cubits". Borchardt conjectures with great probability that these were "compartments" ("Kästen") in the interior of the ramp, formed by brick partition-walls of no great thickness; these compartments would be filled with sand, a great saving of bricks thus being effected. A ramp constructed exactly in this manner has been found just to the South of the mortuary temple of the Second Pyramid, and belongs to about the 19 th. Dynasty ${ }^{1}$. If the view of the $t-g-t$ here taken be correct, the word may possibly be derived from $v i=$ "mouth" (cf. $v i-s t 3, r i-w s t)$ and $g(3) t(i)$ "shrine" "box" (BrugSch, Worterb. 1520; Suppl. 1289; Pap. Tutin 105, 21; 107, 19). With a length of 30 cubits, the $r-g$ - $t$ would leave a reasonable thickness of $\frac{55-30}{2}=12 \cdot 5$ cubits for the exterior walls of the ramp". On the other hand the indication that the "compartments" ( $\left.r-\sigma_{o}-t\right)$ were 7 cubits broad is impossible; this would already give $120 \times 7=840$ cubits for the length of the ramp, without reckoning either the thickness of the partition-walls between the compartments or that of the end-walls at the top and the bottom of the ramp. In spite of this serious difficulty, Borchardt's view of the $\tau-\sigma-t$ seems the only way of accounting for their number and their length.

The ramp, (i. e. its exterior walls) is stated to have been "filled with reeds and beams". This of course alludes to the practice of strengthening vast brick walls with reedmats interposed between the courses and with transverse wooden beams inserted at a distance of some feet from one another. This mode of building is exemplified in the fortresses in the Second Cataract and elsewhere; see Hölscher, Das Hohe Tor vou, Mediuet Habu, p. 36.

The height of the ramp at its highest part was 60 cubits $^{3}$ and, if I understand the next words rightly, the height in the middle of its upward slant was 30 cubits. To me it

[^10]appears that liri-ib-f, following immediately upon $l$ er $d 3 d 3-f$, must be correlated with the same, and must therefore represent the height of the ramp at its centre; unless this view be taken, the words lir $d 3 d 3-f$ would be redundant, the height at the top being sufficiently clearly expressed by the words $m$ hy alone. Borchardt points out, however, that the measurement at the middle is quite superfluous, and proposes to understand $h r i-i b-f$ as "its interior", i. e. the space between the two sides of the ramp. It may be objected to this view that the space referred to is later mentioned as the length of the $r-\sigma_{-}^{-} t$ "compartments" ( 30 cubits); and the philological objection already mentioned is considerable ${ }^{1}$.

The dimension next named, $m i-s p(s p s n) m l / 15$, is still more problematical. The phrase $m i=s p(s p s n)$ occurs only once again, namely in the description of the obelisk ( 15,4 ).
 with me that this sentence must refer to the tapering of the obelisk towards its summit, though he disagrees in his translation of $m i-s p(s p s n)$. He conjectures that $i-s p(s p s n)$ is a peculiar phrase for "end", so that the rendering of 15,4 would be "it goes from end to top as I cubit and I finger", i. e. the falling away from the perpendicular on the entire height of the obelisk (rio cubits) amounts to I cubit and I finger; this is equivalent to rather more than $1 / 4$ of a finger to every cubit, which gives a quite reasonable angle ${ }^{3}$. Applying the sense thus obtained for $i-s p$ ( $s p s n$ ) to the problem of the ramp, Borchardt supposes that the "end" meant is the thickness of the short wall that joined the side-walls at the top of the ramp; the thickness of the top end would then be 15 cubits ${ }^{4}$. It appears to me that $i-s p(s p s n)$ is a very unlikely kind of expression for so concrete an idea as the "end"; and a greater similarity of meaning might be expected in the two sentences. Now let it be noted that the sense of 15,4 would not be modified if we translate "it goes with a gradual slope ( $m i-s p[s p-s n])$ towards the top as I cubit and I finger'. On this view $i-s p$ ( $s p s n$ ) would be a technical term expressing the extent of divergence from the perpendicular at the summit of a monument. Applying this hypothesis to our ramp, we there find that a slope or batter of 15 cubits is indicated ${ }^{5}$. This batter must of course be that of the long exterior walls of the ramp, and the 15 cubits are reckoned, as in the case of the obelisk, at the top of the monument. The height of the ramp being 60 cubits, this gives a batter of $I$ in 4 , or $I 3 / 4$ spans to the cubit, or an angle of $75^{\circ}$; and it adds greatly to the probability of the theory here put forward that the ramp leading up to the pyramid of Sahure exhibits precisely the same batter ${ }^{6}$.

Lastly, the $n s-t$ of the ramp is said to measure 5 cubits. In the story of Sethon $n s-t$ is the name given to the mastaba or stone bench outside house-doors (cf. Griffith's note on $I$ Khamuas 5, II). Borchardt conjectures that the end-wall at the bottom of the ramp, corresponding with $i-s p$, the end-wall (according to him), at the top, may be meant. Another possibility suggested by Hölscher is that ns-t may here signify the brick floor or surface of the ramp above the compartments $(r-g-t)$ and the sand; this might well have a depth of 5 cubits in so vast a monument.

[^11]The problem before the scribe Amenemope was to reckon out the quantity of bricks that would be needed in constructing the ramp. All the requisite data are given ${ }^{1}$; but it would sorely tax the powers of a modern builder to give even an approximate estimate of the number of bricks needed.


The accompanying diagrams display the proportions of the ramp, so far as they can be understood from the papyrus. Where different suggestions have been made, Borchardt's opinion is indicated by (B), Hölscher's by ( H ), and my own by (G).

Problem 2 (14, 8-16,5). An obelisk that has been hewn in the quarries of the Gebel Akhmar near Heliopolis lies ready to be conveyed to the Capital. All its dimensions are given, and the problem which Amenemope is called upon to solve is the number of men needed for its transport. Most
 sense is for the most part not difficult to determine. The first measurement given, "I Io cubits $n$ iưn $n$ hnt (?)", clearly refers to the length of shaft ${ }^{2}$; izwn, the most important element in the compound expression used, is of course the word for "column". The " $d 6 y-t^{3}$ of 10 cubits" next named must be the pedestal; the measurement is obviously the length of the sides, the beight, which must have been less, being omitted. With this identification of the $d b y-t$ agrees the next datum, " $p$-snzw (or $p$-šnzw ${ }^{4} n$ pllwi-f makes 7 cubits on every side"; the size of the obelisk at the base of its shaft is here evidently intended. Next comes the clause with the problematical term $i-s p$ ( $s p s n$ )
 discussed in dealing with the first problem; as we saw, this must refer to the

[^12]extent of the divergence from the perpendicular, which amounted to I cubit and I finger $(\zeta)$ on the entire height of 1 Io cubits, or 0.26 fingers in every cubit ${ }^{1}$. The pyramidion ( $t y-f$ brbr) is stated to have been I cubit in height, of course an impossibly small measurement. Lastly, the point of the pyramidion (hwy, only here) is said to have measured two fingers; Borchardt understands this to refer to the length of the sides of the tiny square surface at the summit of the pyramidion. For all these measurements, see the figure on.the preceding page. All the dimensions required for determining the content of the obelisk, and hence also its weight, appear to be given.

Problem 3 ( $16,6-17,2$ ). The last problem is, of the three, by far the most difficult to understand. It is at all events clear that it concerns the erection of a colossal statue, and that this statue had to be gradually lowered to its ultimate position by the removal of a great artificial magazine of sand on to which it had been hauled(?). The statue covers 30 cubits as it lies stretched upon the ground, and has a breadth of 20 cubits. The word for magazine is mher, the ordinary word for a store-house in which corn or other things were kept; and its sub-divisions(?) are called $\check{s} m m$, also a known word. All the other technical terms and dimensions are quite obscure. The $\check{s m m}$ are stated to have been filled with sand from the river-banks, and the magazine, which was situated under ( $\underline{k} r$ ) the colossus, has to be "emptied" ( $s s z w$ ). The question asked of Amenemope is as to the number of men to be employed in order to remove the sand (lim "demolish" "overturn") in six hours. The use of sand for the gradual lowering of monuments is, as BORCHARDT points out, exemplied by the late tombs near the Pyramid of Onnos (see Barsanti's article, Annales du Service I 283-4) where the massive lid of a sarcophagus was supported upon wooden pillars resting upon sand; when it was desired to bring the lid into its final position, the sand was gradually allowed to escape from under the wooden pillars ${ }^{2}$.

[^13]
## II. A collection of model letters.

Description of the manuscript. The Papyrus Koller (Pap. Berlin 3043) is known to have passed directly from the collection of Baron Koller into that of the Berlin Museum, but no record has been kept of the exact date when this occurred. The manuscript measures 136 cm in length, and has the normal height of 21 cm . It is on the whole well preserved, though it has suffered damage through rough handling. A Museum register dating from the days of PASSALACQUA informs us that the verso once exhibited a drawing of the lower part of the double crown of the Pharaohs, and that there also was a brief hieratic inscription; but the manuscript having been early gummed upon cardboard, this statement can no longer be checked. At a subsequent period the edges of the cardboard around the lacunae were carelessly trimmed, with disastrous results. At present the papyrus is safely preserved under glass in four sections. The writing of the recto is upon the horizontal fibres, and comprises five complete columns or pages; these consist of eight lines apiece, except the second page, which has nine lines. It is well-nigh certain that some pages are missing at the end, since the text breaks off in the middle of a sentence. Whether anything is lost at the beginning is more doubtful, the main text of the first letter being complete, though the salutations that usually precede are absent. The handwriting is of the fine type characteristic of Ramesside literary papyri, and may be dated approximately to the end of the igth Dynasty. If the criteria set up by MölLER ${ }^{1}$ can be trusted, the papyrus is a product of the Memphite school of calligraphy. There are no verse-points, but the usual sign, written in red, serves to divide the sections from one another. A. Wiedemann printed a not entirely satisfactory hand-facsimile of the manuscript in his book Hieratische Texte (Leipzig 1879), Tafel X-XIV, and up to the present this has remained the sole edition of the text.

Contents and general remarks. Many of the finest literary papyri of the New Kingdom belong to a class to which Erman has aptly given the name of Schiilerhandschriften ${ }^{2}$. They are the work of youthful scribes employed in one or other of the public administrative departments, where they seem to have received, after the manner of apprentices, some tuition from the superior scribes. Often the appointed task was the copying of some wellknown literary piece, such as the Instructions of Amenemhet I to his son, or the Poetical account of Rameses Il's victories; in such cases it is impossible to detect the pupil's hand, unless it betrays itself by dates jotted down in the margin to indicate the amount written daily, or by the presence of corrections in the teacher's hand ${ }^{3}$. Often however the subject-

[^14]matter of the texts copied ill conceals their educational aim; this is particularly the case with the collections of model letters, or miscellanies ${ }^{1}$, of which the Papyrus Koller affords a very typical example. The letters contained in these miscellanies are of diverse kinds. The simplest consist of little beyond the elaborate salutations demanded by Egyptian good-breeding. Others, even less readable, are mere lists of articles to be manufactured or foodstuffs to be provided and are simply designed for the purpose of widening the pupil's vocabulary. The majority concern such commissions or affairs of everyday life as might later claim the scribe's attention in the course of his professional career. When the subject-matter permitted, the pupil frequently substituted his own and his teacher's names for those of the original writer and recipient of the letter; Koller 5,5 for example, mentions the names of two scribes, of which Amenemope may be that of the master, and Paibes that of the pupil ${ }^{2}$. Besides letters, the miscellanies here described often contain short compositions of a more purely literary character; hymns to Thoth or Amon, eulogies of the Pharaoh or of the Capital, and above all homilies (as a rule not lacking in humorous touches) on the dignity of the scribe's profession.

The Koller comprises four letters, the first lacking the customary salutations and the last ending abruptly after a few opening sentences. The subjects are as follows:
a) The equipment of a Syrian expedition ( $1, \mathrm{I}-2,2$ ).
b) Warnings to an idle scribe ( $2,2-3,3$ ).
c) A letter concerning Nubian tribute ( $3,3-5,4$ ).
d) An order to make preparations for Pharaoh's arrival (5,5-5,8).

Short introductions with bibliographical notes being prefixed to the translations of each section, only a few general remarks are here necessary. The Koller is particularly closely related to the London papyrus Anastasi IV, with which it has two sections in common. The orthography is good, and mistakes or corruptions seem to be relatively few. The pupil by whom the Koller was written seems to have aspired to erudition, for the texts chosen are full of technical and foreign words.

The first to translate the papyrus was A. Wiedemann, whose renderings (op. cit. p. 19-23) are accompanied by brief notes on the subject-matter but without a philological commentary. The only other treatment of the papyrus as a whole is that of Erman in the handbook entitled Aus den Papyrus der königlichen Museen, Berlin 1899, belonging to the official series of Handbïcher der königlichen Museen zu Berlin (p. 93-97).

## a. The equipment of a Syrian expedition.

This is a short model letter describing the preparations to be made for an expedition to Syria and enumerating in detail the horses, attendants, chariots and weapons that have to be made ready. The point of the composition doubtless lay in its copious use of foreign and technical words, which would serve at once to exhibit the teacher's erudition and to increase the store of the pupil's learning. No duplicate of this letter is known, but it is shown by its last words to be closely related to a letter preserved entire in Anastasi IV ( $\mathrm{I} 3,8$-end), the beginning of which is found on the last page of the Koller. Other texts which mention the various parts of the chariot and the weapons contained in it are

[^15]Anastasi I and the Edinburgh Poem about the Chariot（A．Z．is［1880］，94－95）．No trans－ lations of this section seem to have published besides those named above in the general infroduction．

〈The scribe Amenope writes to the scribe Paibēs＇，〉 saying：－Take good heed to make ready the array（？）${ }^{2}$ of horses which is（bound）for Syria，together with their stable－men ${ }^{3}$ ，and likewise their grooms ${ }^{4}$ ；their coats ${ }^{5}$ ．．．．－ed and filled with provender and straw，rubbed down twice over；their corn－bags（？$)^{6}$ filled with kyllestis－bread ${ }^{7}$ ，a single ass（？）in the charge of（every）two men．Their chariots are of $b r y$－wood $(?)^{9}$ filled with 〈all kinds of（？）〉 weapons of warfare ${ }^{10}$ ；eighty arrows in the 1，5 quiver ${ }^{11}$ ，the ${ }^{12}$ ，the lance（？$)^{13}$ ，the sword ${ }^{14}$ ，the dagger，the $\qquad$ the ．．．．．．．．．．．．${ }^{16}$ ，the whip ${ }^{17}$ of $t \leq g^{2}$－wood ${ }^{18}$ furnished with lashes ${ }^{19}$ ，the chariot－ club $^{20}$ ，the staff $(?)^{21}$ of watchfulness，the javelin ${ }^{22}$ of Kheta，the rein－looser $(?)^{23}$ ，their facings 〈of〉bronze of six－fold alloy ${ }^{24}$ ，graven with chiselling（？$)^{25}, \ldots \ldots$ ed，and $\ldots$. ．ed $^{26}$ ．Their cuirasses ${ }^{27}$ are placed beside them．The bows are adjust－

1）The names are restored from 5，5．
2）Rks is possibly identical with the rare Hebrew collective word for＂horses＂ש゙ニク；see Burch． no．642，where the phonetic difficulty is pointed out．－For $g^{2} g$ we should expect $g r g-t w$（cf．5，6）， but in 3,5 and d＇Orbiney 2，2 the ending is similarly omitted．

3）Hry ih，a very common title，which in itself probably indicates quite a low rank．

4）$M \gamma i$ ，see p． $6^{*}$ ，n． 16 ．
5）Šnw lit．＂hair＂，only here of horses＇coats．
6）Here the provisions for the stable－men and grooms appear to be referred to；these were carried on asses．－$\underline{H} 3 r$ ，properly a corn－measure，is occa－ sionally determined with the sign for the hide， cf．Rhind Math．Pap．41，3．4；43，1，Mar．，Karnak 54， 46.

7）The $k-\gamma-s-t$ was a small loaf weighing from about half to three－quarters of a pound，see Eisen－ lohr，Proc．S．B．A．19，263；the name is preserved in the Greek $\chi \nu \lambda \lambda \eta \bar{\eta} \sigma \tau \iota$, a word known from Hdt．II 77 and other sources（see $A . Z .47$［1910］， 159 footnote）．

8）$R$ iwd as preposition means either（1）＂in the charge of＂，so here and Pap．Bologna 1094，6，7； Pap．Bibl．Nat．187，3，4．6；or（2）＂with＂（apud） cf．Salt 124，verso 1，1；Pap．Turin 57，1；103，1， 16.

9）Bry，only here and Anast．IV 16，7，where it is likewise a kind of wood of which chariots were made．

1o）Probably emend $h_{c} w\langle n b\rangle n \gamma k h-t$ ；note that in this expression $h-t$ is written with $t$ and stroke during the 18 th．Dynasty，（cf．Urk．IV 699）．

11）＇$I s$－$p-t$ ，see above $p .27^{*}$, n． 17.
12）Hmy－t，as a weapon belonging to the chariot， Edinburgh Poem about Chariot，recto in．

13）$M-r-\frac{l}{2}$ ，only here and Anast．IV 17，I；cf． мерея，but this comparison perhaps fails if the

Boheiric form мере $\$$ quoted by Peyron is well authen－ ticated．

14）H．r•p，Hebrew $=-\overparen{\nabla}$ ，also Anast．IV 17， 1 ； Edinburgh Poem，recto 13 ．

15）$K-w-t$ ，only here．
16）$S k$－$h m(w)$ ，again only Anast．IV 17，I．
17）＇Is－b－v，see BURch．no． 134 and above p．26＊，n．6．
18）$T 3 g$ ，a species of wood；whips are made of it，as here，Anast．IV 17，2；the chariot－pole，below 2，I；chariots，Urk．IV 707；the word also $i b$ ．701． 705． 732.

19）Rwd－（wt）＂lashes＂，only here；Anast．I 26，8 uses another word；for $w w d-(w t)$ as bow－string cf．below 1，8；Lacau，Sarcophages $I I$ ，Index．

20）So too t＇wn－t $n$ ty－k mokb－t，Edinburgh Poem，verso 9.

21）$H^{〔}(w)$ ，elsewhere only d＇Orbiney i3，I（con－ clusive as to sense）；Anast．IV 17，3．

22）The weapon niw seems from the hieroglyphic determinative in R．，I．H．215，31；240，37；241，44 to be a javelin；for javelins，see Wilkinson，Anc． Egyptians（ed．Birch），I 208．Cf．puiw n ty－k mrkb－t， Edinburgh Poem，recto in．

23）For $t \mathrm{t}$＂to loose＂see p．22＊，n．7，and for h．nr see p．20＊，n．10；what instrument is here meant is hard to say．

24） $\operatorname{Sm}(3) n$ sis is evidently an alloy of six in－ gredients；from this passage and from Harris $I$ 45，5； 47，6； 52 b 9 it is plainly a kind of bronze，and from ibid． 6,$9 ; 47,4$ we know that it was of the colour of gold，i．e．probably like brass．Other references， Harris I 59，3；Pap．Turin 32，7．9；Anast．IV 16，12．

25）For this difficult phrase see p．28＊，n．I3．
26）Fti and $m$－s－$k$ ，unknown verbs．
27）R－b－š－y，from Hebrew ч゙こう；see Spiegelberg， Petubastis，Index no．235－236 for demotic instances and some important remarks．
${ }^{2,1}$ ed(??) to their strings ${ }^{1}$, their wood ${ }^{2}$ being tested in drawing, their(?) bindings(?) ${ }^{3}$ consisting of clean .... leather (?) ${ }^{4}$. The pole ${ }^{5}$ is of $t 3 g$-wood ${ }^{6}$, .........ed ${ }^{7}$, shaped $(?)^{8}$, fitted with leather ${ }^{9}$, finished off(?), oiled ${ }^{10}$ and polished $(?)^{11}$.
i) Rwd-(wt), see above note 18 ; the meaning of $t s y$ here is obscure.
2) Dbw lit. "horns", here clearly the wooden part of the bows; the word for bow in other languages not seldom alludes to its shape, cf. arcus, Bogen.
3) $M$-s-y, only here and Anast. $I 26,6$.
4) For $m$ tr-t we may possibly compare $P a p$. Kahun 19, 57.
5) For the word ' see p. $28^{*}$, n. 6.
6) $T 3 g$, see $p .37^{*}$, n. 18 .
7) $G-p$ does not occur in the parallel text Anast. IV 16, 11-12, and has evidently nothing
to do with $g-p$ below 2,8 ; it may be for $g-\gamma-p$, a gloss on $g-\gamma-b$ (see next note).
8) $G-r-b$ (so too Anast. IV I6, II) is identical with $g \cdot v-p$, Anast. I 26,5 ; see p. 28*, n. 7.
9) Tby is clearly derived from t tbw "sandalmaker", "leather-worker"; in the sense "shod", cf. Anast. III 8, $6=$ Anast. IV 16, 5 .
10) Sgnn "to oil", cf. Anast.III $8,4=$ Anast. IV 16,3; Anast. IV 15,4; 16,12; Sall. I 4, 10; 5,3; Har. ris 500 , verso 5,9.
11) $M-\dot{s}-\gamma-\gamma$ (also in Anast. IV 16, 12) looks like a Semitic passive participle *mashrūr; the word is unknown.

## b. Warnings to the idle scribe.

Almost all the great miscellanies of the New Kingdom contain threats and warnings addressed to the idle scribe, most of which begin with the stereotyped words found here (e. g. Sall. I 6,I; Anast. IV i I, 8; Anast. V 6,I). The present text, fragmentary duplicates of which are found in Anastasi IV 2,4-3,2 and Anastasi $V$ 5, 1 , is peculiar in the fact that it consists almost entirely of a long drawn out simile, the pupil being compared to a careless sailor. The end of the section is much damaged and practically unintelligible. The parallel texts from Anast. IV and Anast. $V$ are reproduced in facsimile in the Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character (London 1842 and i844), plates LXXXIII. LXXXIV and plate XCIX respectively; for a complete description of these Mss. the reader must be referred to a subsequent instalment of this work. A few phrases were translated by Chabas in his Voyage dun Égyptien, pp. 141. 24I, and the whole, so far as it is preserved in Anast. IV and Anast. $V$, was rendered into French by Maspero, Du genre épistolaire chez les anciens Egyptiens (Paris 1872), p. 28-30. The version of the Koller was first utilized by Lauth, Die altägyptische Hochschule von Chennu, in Sitab. d. K. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss., 1872, p. 66; then more completely by Wiedemann in 1879. The only other translations seem to be those of Erman in Aegypten (1885), p. 514 (mainly a paraphrase) and in the handbook mentioned above in the general introduction.

They ${ }^{1}$ tell me that thou forsakest writing ${ }^{2}$, and departest and dost flee; that thou forsakest writing and usest thy legs ${ }^{3}$ like horses of the riding-school(??) ${ }^{4}$. Thy heart is fluttered; thou art like an ' $/ 2 y$-bird ${ }^{5}$. Thy ear is deaf(?)'; thou

[^16]matical. - Htri seems never to be used in lateEgyptian for simply one horse; it means a pair, or a horse and chariot.
5) The bird 'hy is also mentioned Anast. IV 1b, I; Pap. med. Berlin 21,2.
6) $D \cdot n(v)-g$ only here; however the proper name $D \cdot n(r)$-g (Burch. no. 1189), older D3g (e. g. Cairo stele M. K. 20007; L. D. II 147 b ), is often determined with the ear, implying that the verb was common.
art like an ass in taking beatings ${ }^{1}$. Thou art like an antilope in fleeing. Thou
2,5 art not ${ }^{2}$ a hunter ${ }^{3}$ of the desert, nor a Mazoi ${ }^{4}$ of the West! Thou art one who is deaf and does not hear ${ }^{5}$, to whom men make (signs) with the hand. Thou art like the mate of a skipper skilled in (managing) the boat. When he is skipper ${ }^{6}$ in the boat, he stands at the prow(?) ${ }^{7}$, he does not look out for dangerous winds, he does not search for the current ${ }^{8}$; if the outer (? $)^{9}$ rope is let go, the rope in front $(?)^{10}$ is in his neck (? $)^{11}$. When he is pulling the rope ${ }^{12}$, he catches (? $)^{13}$ the . . . . . -birds, he plucks ${ }^{14} \ldots$. . . -flowers (? $)^{15}$ on the banks, he cuts away ${ }^{16}$ clods of earth(?? $)^{17}$. His . . . . . ${ }^{18}$. . . . . . . . . -trees, he . . . . . . . $k s b$-trees ${ }^{19}$. His . . . . . ${ }^{20}$ is of seven cubits, he cuts reeds(?). His tresses(?? $)^{21}$ 3,1 . . . . . to his feet, in work of Kush. His . . . . . . . . is of bright . ${ }^{22}$ in work of the overseer of $\ldots \ldots . .^{23}$. He binds threads ${ }^{21}$ to its(??) end, in
I) I. e. thou art as stubborn and unresponsive when punished as a beaten ass.
2) Anast. IV wrongly omits the negation here and inserts it before mntk shy.
3) For similar writings of mw "hunter" (for the sense see the determinative in $U r k . I$ 2) cf. $U v k . I V$ 994; Harris $I$ 28,4; L., D. III 356.
4) For the Mazoi as hunters, cf. especially Anast. IV 10,5; in Urk. IV 994 the titles "great one of the $M \underline{d} 3 w$ " and "overseer of hunters" occur in parallelism with one another. See now Max Müller, Egypt. Researches II p. 76-77.
5) Cf. Anast. I 6,6; 26,3.
6) I. e. when the mate ( $h r v \mathfrak{i}^{-}$"subordinate") is acting as the skipper or rêis.
7) Tpti, probably a special nautical term; $t p-t$ is the name of a part or an appurtenance of a boat made of cedar-wood and measuring 20-30 cubits (Turin. Pap. unpublished) ; $t p t i$ may be a $n i s b e$-form from it.
8) $H$-(y)-n, Coptic qoess (Rec. de Trav.28,214); elsewhere the word clearly means "waves", not "current", e. g. Anast. IV I b, 2.
9) If $n b n(r)$ is read with Koller, this must be a genitive qualifying $p m w h$; if the reading of $A$ nast.IV be preferred $h 3^{c} \gamma b n(\gamma)$ means "to let go".
io) Hnt-t is possibly a technical term for the rope attached at the prow.
II) I. e. probably, becomes entangled with his neck. Wiedemann takes this clause to mean, "the towing-rope is placed round his neck", but this cannot be correct, as the sentence clearly continues the description of what happens when the mate is acting as skipper. - Hhwi-k, which Koller reads instead of hhwi-f (Anast. IV), is certainly a mistake, like rdwi-k in 3,1 ; the scribe is still influenced by the pronouns of the second person with which the text began.
12) Wnn-f ith $p$ nwh (parallel to wnn-f $m$ nfw above) introduces a new picture of the mate's heedlessness; he is now imagined as towing on the riverbank. For ith $p$ nwh the Modern Egyptian would

13) $G-p$ is here probably the equivalent of $k p$ (see above p. $9^{*}$, n. 14); the substitution of $g$ for $k$ is however difficult to parallel at this period.
14) Fg, so written also Pap. Leiden 345, recto G 2, I, is the equivalent of $f$ ? in Pap. Turin 89,5; doubtless Coptic qu๘є: equal evellere.
15) $\grave{S}_{r i}(w)$, only here.
16) Pns means "to cut off" the head (e. g. Mar., Mast. D ıo; Mission $V$ 622) or the ribs (cf. Nav., Deir el Bahari 107; Mission V 617) of a bull to be sacrificed; also "to cut away" hair, Ebers 63,13. Here I imagine the meaning to be that the idle sailor, instead of attending to his towing, amuses himself with hunting the birds or picking the flowers on the bank, or else in knocking away the heavy lumps of muddy earth at the edge of which he is walking.
17) $M-k-k$, cf. Anast. $I I I$ 2,4, where the word occurs together with 3 h.t "fields".
18) Mtr? here is of unknown meaning.
19) Before $k s b$, a kind of tree mentioned already in the Pyramidtexts (e. g. 456. 994), an infinitive is expected; perhaps emend in "to bring'.
20) W 3 h-t, meaning unknown.
21) Nbd-t means "tressed hair" in d'Orbiney $10,7$. 9; II,2. 4; Anast. III 3,3; masculine in Harvis 500, recto $6, \mathrm{I}$. The damaged word following is perhaps a verb "to dangle" "hang down" or the like. For the erroneous reading $r d w i \cdot k$ of Koller see above n. II. - The very obscure sentences which follow may allude to the foppish attire of the skipper's mate, another sign of his disinclination for regular work.
22) The words $i-t-t$ and $n-f_{-}^{c}$ are " $\kappa \pi \alpha \xi \lambda . \varepsilon \gamma \dot{\prime} \mu \varepsilon v \alpha$.
23) Reading and meaning uncertain; the title occurs again Harris $I 7,9$ (see A. Z. 23 [1885], 60-61), where its connection with cattle suggests that it means "overseer of horns".
24) $G$-w-tn seems from Anast. I 24,6 to mean "to bind" or "tie". - P-t-v probably the Hebrew ל-r., see Burch. no. 430. The meaning of the sentence is quite obscure.
order to wear a loin-cloth (?) ${ }^{1}$. He is one who pricks up(?) the ear ${ }^{2}$ on the day of the ass; (he is) a rudder on the day of the boat. I will do all these things to $\mathrm{him}^{3}$, if he turns his back ${ }^{4}$ on his office.


#### Abstract

1) This garment, the transcription of which is unknown, is often mentioned in late-Egyptian texts e. g. below 4,6; Bergmann, Hierat. Texte 1,2. 5 ; Pap. Berlin 9784,6; Harris 500, verso 1,11; and six times in Harris $I$. 2) $M h \underline{h} m s d r$, lit. "to fill the ear", i. e. probably to "listen" "hear" "hearken"; cf. Anast. I 20,6 (with a superfluous $m$ ); Anast. IV 5,4; both rather obscure passages. 3) These words must refer to the lazy pupil


#### Abstract

addressed in the first words of this effusion, and we should therefore expect the second person; this however is given by neither text, though Koller has had two examples of the suffix 2 nd. pers. sing. where it was not required (see p. $39^{*}$, n. 11). Nor is it plain to what the words "all these things" refer, since no punishments have been threatened or described. 4) $\mathrm{H} 3^{‘}$ h3-f $r$, cf. Anast. V 6,$1 ; 15,7=$ Sall. I 6, 2; Pap. Turin 88, 11; Israel stele 11; Berlin Ostracon 11247 (Hierat. Pap. III, 35).


## c, A letter concerning Nubian tribute.

This is a letter supposed to be sent by a high official named Paser, probably the Viceroy himself, to a Nubian chieftain, ordering him to make ready the tribute of his district without delay. The interest of the section centres in the long enumeration of the Nubian products, the best list of the kind that exists among our literary records. A shorter but interesting list occurs in the letter from Rameses XII to his Viceroy Pinehasi (Pleyte-Rossi. Papyrus de Turin 66. 67). A duplicate of the beginning of the present letter, with a rather different text, occurs on a potsherd discovered by Quibec.l in the course of his excavations at the Ramesseum; it has been published by Spiegelberg in his volume Hieratic Ostraka and Papyri (Egyptian Research Account, extra volume, 1898), plate 5, no. 39a. Besides the translations by Wiedemann and Erman already mentioned, there is an incomplete rendering by H. Brugsci in his book Sieben Falure der Hungersnoth (Leipzig 1891), p. iI5.

The fan-bearer at the right hand of the king, the captain of auxiliary troops, the overseer of the countries of Kush, Paser ${ }^{1}$, writes to him who protects 3,5 his people ${ }^{2}$, to wit: - This communication is brought to thee saying: when my letter reaches thee thou shalt cause the tribute to be made ready ${ }^{3}$ in all its items ${ }^{4}$, in iwz-bulls, young $g_{3}$-bulls, wndz-bulls, gazelles, oryxes ${ }^{5}$, ibexes ${ }^{6}$, ostriches ${ }^{7}$; their broad-boats, cattle-boats ${ }^{8}$ and (ordinary) boats being ready to hand(? ${ }^{9}$, their

1) The titles are unusual, but "fanbearer" etc. and "overseer of the lands of Kush" suggest that the "Royal Son of Kush" is meant. One "Royal Son" or "Viceroy" named Paser lived in the reign of Eye (stelae at Gebel Addeh); another seems to be mentioned under Rameses 11 on a monument at Naples, see Brugsch, Thesaurus, 953.
2) Mik rmt- $f$ is found nowhere else either as a title or as a proper name. Sr., H. O. had a different reading: "[to . . . . . . . . . the overseer(?) of the . . . . . of] Kush".
3) Variant of Sp., H. O., "thou shalt take heed to have [the tribute] made ready".
4) Lit. "in all its things".
5) M3-hd, for this animal see von Bissing, Mast. d. Gemnikai I 34, and for the spelling of. Harris $I 4,8$; 20a, 12. 13 etc.
6) $N \gamma 3 w$, a late writing of the old word ni3w, found first in Benihasan Il 4. 13; for the animal, see von Bissing, op. cit., p. 35 .
7) Niw, already Pyr. 469a; a good instance Urk. IV 19; cf. too below 4.i.
8) Hn-ihw, cf. Anast. IV 6,11;7,6; Harvis I 12b, 11; 69,13.
9) $T p t i-d t$, only here.
skippers and their crews prepared for starting; much gold wrought into dishes ${ }^{1}$, refined gold(?) in bushels(?), good gold, precious stones(? $)^{2}$ of the desert in bags 4,1 of red cloth, ivory and ebony, ostrich ${ }^{3}$ feathers, nebk fruit in ........ , bread
 didy-berries ${ }^{9}$, red jasper ${ }^{10}$, amethyst $(?)^{11}$, crystal ${ }^{13}$, cats of MTiz ${ }^{13}$, baboons, apes, šne-vessels containing hatí(?)-pigment ${ }^{14}$, cyperus-roots(?) $)^{15}$, sacks(?) and ps-packets(??) ${ }^{16}$; numerous men of ' $1 r-m-2^{17}$ in front of the revenues, their staves (?? ${ }^{18}$ adorned with 4,5 gold, . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ${ }^{19}$ containing . . . . . . . . . . ${ }^{20}$. . . . . . . ed ${ }^{21}$ with . . . . . . . . ${ }^{22}$
10) Dd-t, so written too Anast. IV 16,2, is a flat dish, cf. C'rk. IV 63I; the word occurs already in the Old Kingdom, cf. L., D. H28, and its comnection with the Hebrew 7 -
11) Gmw, an unknown word.
12) Nrw is a spelling for niw (see above p. 40*, n. 7) cf. Pap. Turin 125, 6.
13) The tree called $n b s$ in Egyptian, in Old Coptic norbe (A. Z. 38 [1900], 87), is the zizyphus, or Christ's thorn-tree, called by the Arabs نـبتى; its fruit is sweet and palatable when ripe; the "bread of the $n b s$-tree", mentioned here and in the lists of offerings, is probably a cake made from the dried fruit. See Maspero's article Proc. S. B. A. 13, 496-498. Hmhm is unknown.
14) Two unknown Nubian words, of which the first is probably the name of a fruit, the second that of a tree.
15) $H-k-k$, a fruit of some kind, conjectured by Brugsch to be that of the dum-palm, sec Worterb. Suppl. 855; further examples in the Petrie Ostraca 31. 37; for the spelling here cf. Harris I 19b, 12 ; 36b, 5 .
16) $\check{S}_{s-y}$, probably a fruit, is mentioned next to $h-k-k$ in Harris $I 65 \mathrm{a}, 4.5$ and again ibid. 74, 3. 4.
17) Kmy "gum", xони in Greek and коми in Boheiric, see especially Krall, Studien z. Gesch. d. alten Aegypten IV, 27-30.
18) Didy, according. to Brugsch (A. Z. 29, [1891], 31-33) the magically potent red berry of the mandrake; this plant was particularly abundant in Elephantine, cf. besides Brugsch's references $L^{\dagger} \gamma k$. IV, 55. Pliny (Hist. Nat. 24, 102) mentions a plant called ophiusa which grew at Elephantine and possessed very remarkable properties.

1o) Hnm-t, probably either red jasper or carnelian; for the colour cf. L., D. III 117 $^{7}=$ Champ., Not. Descr. I 479; Zauberspr. f. Mutter u. Kind 1, I; Turin Love-songs 2,3. The knot-amulet, which is usually of jasper or cornelian, is said in Totb. ed. Leps., 59 to be made of hlum-t. The Hebrew was compared with hum-t by Brugsch, I'örterb. inoo; but LXX interprets this as $\dot{6} \mu \mathrm{c} \theta \mathrm{t} \sigma \mathrm{\sigma os}$. Hnm-t as a product of Nubia, cf. Pap. Turin 67,11; Sehel, Famine Inscription 16.
II) $\mathrm{H} \cdot \mathrm{m}-\mathrm{k}$ is without doubt merely a variant Gardiner.
writing of hm $3 \mathrm{~g} 3-\mathrm{t}$, which is mentioned elsewhere as a product of Nubia, see Brugscif, Sieben Jahre der Hungersnot, p. 129. Lepsius-Berend (Les Métaux, p. 21 footnote) cites Hoskins for the fact that this precious stone is depicted as red. If this evidence be relied upon, hm3g3-t might be carnelian, ham-t being red jasper; or vice versa. However a word for "amethyst" is still wanting, and I prefer provisionally to identify $\mathrm{hm} 3 \mathrm{~g} 3 \cdot \mathrm{t}$ with this.
12) 'I- $\gamma \cdot \underline{k}-b-s$ is rightly identified by Bondr, Lehn-

13) Miw, a Nubian district, mentioned Uvk. IV 796 and often.
14) $H n t i(?)$ is often mentioned as a material used in writing, e. g. Pap. Leiden 347, 12,9; Totb. ed. Nav., 130,44; 134, 17; together with other colours used for writing or painting, cf. 1 Iission XV 26 (Luxor); Ostracon Cairo 25247; šny-vessels containing hatỉ(?), cf. Harris $I 65 \mathrm{a}, 3 ; 74,2$. Possibly this is the name of the raw material out of which the ordinary red paint was made.
15) Nfw is compared by Newberry (Proc.S.B.A. $22,146-148$ ) to a regetable product, the root of the Cyperus esculentus, L., still known in the Sudan under the name نتُ
16) Ps, cf. Harris $I$ 65a, 8; 74,6, in connection with nfw.
17) 'Ir-mi, a well known tribe of the Sudan, cf. Urk. IV 333. 796; L., D. Ill 218 c and elsewhere. Maspero (Rec. de Trav. 8,84) recalled the fact that the Galla race call themselves Ilm Orma "the sons of Orma", and concluded that the ancient word ' $I r-m-i$ is preserved in the modern Ilm; Tommins (Rec. de Trav. 10,98) prefers to identify ' $I \gamma-m-i$ with Orma, and if the name Ilm Orma has anything at all to do with ' $I r-m-i$, this surely is the more likely view of the two, Ilm meaning simply "sons of" like Arabic بنّو.
18) ' $I-b-\gamma-\underline{d}(\dot{( })-i$, an unknown word.
19) $K \cdot r \cdot k \cdot \gamma-i-b-\frac{\imath}{}$ is unknown, and the verb (?) $s \cdot s 3 \cdot w$ has a very suspicious appearance.

21) Tftf in Pap. Turin 74, 5 means "to be disturbed" "fluttered" like the simplex $t f i$; its sense here is unknown.
22) Hpi-t, another unknown word.

6
and with all precious stones; tall men of $T-r k^{1}$ in loin-cloths(?), their fans ${ }^{2}$ of gold, wearing high feathers ${ }^{3}$, their bracelets $(? ?)^{4}$ of woven thread; many Negroes of all sorts ${ }^{5}$. Increase thy contribution every year! Have a care for thy head, and turn thee from thy indolence. Thou art [old]; look to it diligently ${ }^{6}$, and beware! Be mindful of the day ${ }^{7}$ when the revenues are brought, and thou passest 5,1 into the Presence beneath the Balcony ${ }^{8}$; the nobles ranged on either side in front of his Majesty, the chiefs and envoys ${ }^{9}$ of every land standing gazing and looking at the revenues. Thou art afraid and shrinkest(? $)^{10}$, thy hand grows feeble, and thou knowest not whether it be death or life that lies before thee ${ }^{11}$. Thou art profuse in prayers [to] thy gods: "Save me, prosper me ${ }^{12}$ this one time!"

[^17]5) $M$ tnw $n b$, see above p. $7^{*}$, n. 6 .
6) For $b^{b}$, see Erman's remarks A. $Z .42$ (1905), 107.
7) Cf. shl $3 k$ hrw $n$ ḳrs, Sinuhe $B 190$.
8) $S$ šd, see p. $17^{*}$, n. 6.
9) $M \check{s}$ c $y t i$, only here; from $m s^{\text {c }}$ "to travel".
io) Thbh is probably to be emended into $t n b h$, for which see Admonitions p. 67.
it) For $n . . . n$ "whether . ... or", see Inscription of Mes, p. 16.
12) $S w d 3-i$, probably infinitive used as imperative, see Sethe, Verbum II §566; see above p. 22*, n. I7, and cf. in-i, Pap. Bibl. Nat. 197, 4, 6; int-i, Pap. Bibl. Nat. 197, 6, 2.

## d. An order to make preparations for Pharaoh's arrival.

The three remaining lines of the fifth page of the Koller, after which the papyrus abruptly ends, contain the beginning of a long letter that is more completely preserved in Anastasi IV ${ }^{13}, 8-17,9$. A detailed consideration of this letter would here be out of place, and the translation of the three lines preserved in the Koller is given below only for the sake of completeness. The entire text will be dealt with later in connection with Anastasi IV.

The scribe Amenope writes 〈to〉 the scribe Paibēs. This letter is brought unto thee to say: - Take heed to have preparations made for Pharaoh, thy good lord, in fair and excellent order. Do not draw down punishment upon thyself. Look to it diligently, and beware! Do not be remiss! List of all the things that thou shalt cause to be provided. - Let materials be procured for the basket-makers consisting of reeds and and is-r-grass; and likewise ........ . . (End).

Symbols，abbreviations etc．
Lacunae are always indicated by crosshatching 㐱；blank spaces in the original are specially noted；Hank spaces in the publication have no significance．

Restorations are indicated both by square brackets［］，and by cross－ hatching VIi．$^{\text {．}}$

A vertical dotted line $\vdots$ indicates that the signs next following are not the Ms． continuation of what precedes，but are transposed from elsewhere．

Two such dotted lines it indicate the omission，in the publication，of some signs or words contained in the original．

Sic above or below a sign implies that the Ms．reading is reproduced with special care，and that no doubt need be felt by the reader．
tr．＂＂＂＂indicates traces suitable to the reading given．
pere．＂．＂＂．＂that the reading is prectable，tret not certain．
Words or signs in red in the original are underlined；verse－points are always red unless otherwise stated．

In the textual notes the numbers used in quotation refer，wherever prosit＝ ：cable，to page and line of the original manuscript：thus in this Part 2，5 would indicate Anastasia I，page 2，line 5；on the other hand p．2，l．5 would dignity page 2 ，and line 5 of my publication of Literary texts．

Hieratic signs in the notes have been traced tom the original or from a good facsimile unless otherwise stated ar clearly implied．

- A satirical letter from one scribe to another
transcribed from Pap. Brit. Mus. 12247 (anastasi I) and from sundry other fragmentary manuscripts.





anastasi 11，1－2．

2．TTTO－－There is hardly room for ndind before thes．Read［经OT：］

4．WCAD＝筒然1？
$7^{\text {M }}$ corruptly for $\operatorname{li}$ ，as（e．g）in kd（anast 1） 2,1 ；stpw 2，6．
q．With dot，i．e properly $h$ ：
10．？O．P．here interposes several sentences，see below $0.2 l .2$ et seqg．


Anastasi I1,2-4.
2. Immediately following upon m is y-f n ssw above, p., l, (10) O. P. has some sentences absent from An .I. Restore the first [sss $m$ ] iswt-f?
4. ${ }^{\text {bic }}$ Thus:almost invisible, ie. rh latter added over the suffix (twi-)


"h. Not $m$, though rather similarly made.
12t. Now scaled away, but seen by me. - ${ }^{\text {I Here the words st-3y }(t) \text { etc., }}$ see above p.1, l. 10-p.2,l.2.
13: $i=$ i.e. properly (in), common error.
$15^{n}$ Possibly these words should not be separated from ihwnw nb (above (.13); but [ see O.P.
16. Doubtful traces. - m. The recto may have had another line, the verso show nearly illegitle ta aces of two lines interpunctuated with ted, which may belong to this text.
anastasi 11,4-2,
Lit. Jeacto o













Anastasi $11,4-2,1$
2. Really E under the influence of tr. 'Read ot r(s)t, of. 4,3

4. Coumpted from ft
 Ch spliegelberg)'s copy has indistinct traces.

Bi So Sp.; read $=$ ?
10. Read ID spec? 'Read isth.
$12^{m}$ sp's copy omits; so photagr.



Anastasi 12，1－2．

1．峦 is for 111 ，see above pis，note $y^{\text {c }}$
 group following；the later must contain the determinative

6！Practically certain；the stroke of $1[\gamma]$ clear in Phot．珷苗后以 are in favour of 110 ．

8．Clear in Phot．
$q^{l}$ ．Hardly 0 ．

12．Hardly 111.
 14．${ }^{m} S_{0}$ Phot．，not the phase wee nhit．t belong
pit＇in etc．，above $1,8-2,1$ ．

Gardiner，Literary Sexts．


Anastasi 12,2-4.
2. So to a Phot.; doubtless an error for $\pi 1,-{ }^{\text {G }}$ Sp.: "mit voter Tint in $\beta$ korrigiert."
ct. below p. 15 line 5. cf. below p. 15 line 5.
5. So apparently Sp.'s hand -copy.
11. Not clear in the hand-copy; so Sp.'s transcription. - [in (so too Phot.) probably arose from a mistaken reading of the hieratic group for mrs, which has some prints of similarity.


1. Properly $x=5$, see above p. 3 a, note aa.
2. Without dot, like 若.

6: It is uncertain whether there were moe hines, now lost.
10. So sp.'s hand-copy and transuiption. - ex a comuption out of a hieratic $\operatorname{Cl}$. If ${ }^{\text {总 }}$ is for $\cdots 1$, see above $p .1$ a note $7^{c}$; for ster see below 5,1 end ; 7,8 end.
13.' II is coupled out of hieratic $\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{\Delta}$; nad isf.t


Anastasi I2, 1-3,4.
Lit. Jexts 7














Anastasi I2,7-3,4.
4. At beginning, [9] would be a possible reading. The space is rather small for [ m ; ]: and the final: by no means certain.
5. Confusedly mounded and not quite certain.
6. Scanty, but sufficient, haces.-d-e
7. Perhaps no lacuna. - ${ }^{\text {g Cf. above 2,2. }}$
$8^{\text {h }}$ G. 8,6 below. - "The counction $\times 90$ at top of page belongs here, "c. below -4,4. if not to what in 3,6 ad init.
q. The trace of $m$ very curiously made, possibly a later addition. - Quite clear in the original.
13. Probably merely reconstructed from il B aim.
15. Evrot for ${ }^{\circ}$ with ic "to wash."
17. Ot IT?

Anastasi 13,4-7.
Lit. Yexts 8










Anastasi I 3,4-7.
3.as often, 1 vec here uplaces $\mathbb{k}$.
y. Y/ erroneondy for 8 .
$10:$ cf. $4,5$.
$12^{d .}$

Gardiner, Literary Jeacts
anastavi I 3, $7-4,5$.
Lit. Jextis 9















Anastavi I 3,7-4,5.
$2^{\text {a }}$ The first $\leq$ in this spelling of inch is detived from ice "inherit"; the second from "c. "wash".
6." Very faint, tut probable.
7.: A ting trace, suitable to ${ }^{\text {ti }}$. - "C. Cs at end of line, but the name is elsewhere spelt with $\AA \mathbb{C}$.
8.t The ostracon, which is complete, ends with these red signs.


Seth (igor) suggested snte-k irt-c, but d in mend is certain, and mn probable, though the dat is quite obscure. A possible trace of $m$ befoul $\frac{m \text { nd }}{}$ - 10.' after a a small misplaced fragment.

12. A coumption of witt tr ; I is curtain.


$$
12^{l}-13^{m} \text { Corrupted from } \infty \infty \infty
$$

$14^{n}$ For $\frac{5}{4}$ of. 9.9 .
16." Not why, which would require not space enough for stays. Nor can we have here a
 up. at beginning, tut it is dull and may be a smudge.




二ff二x













Anastasi $14,5-5,6$.
2. 9.17 .1 and.

3: Damaged and displaced, but certain.
4. Corrupted from TM P ${ }^{\text {W }}$.

5: Read gmo. - t Corrected out of al.
6. 1 - the stroke may be meant to imply that $h$ and $\underline{s}$ should be transposed;
8. U vertical sign.
$q^{i} \quad S_{\epsilon \epsilon}$ facs.; utterly confused, with ${ }^{j-k}$ Here and below 5,2.3 a large superimposed fragments.

- not ~ misplaced fragment, fitting into $5,5.6 .7$; see furs.
${ }^{2}$ Here the misplaced beginning of a pase, recognized by Seethe as belonging to gui.
$9^{m}$. Facts accurate ; uncertain.
$111^{0-\beta}$ See the note $q^{j-k}$ above.
12? If. anas $^{\text {II }}, 1,4 ; 16,1$ - ${ }^{r}$ Under $Q_{\text {a misplaced fragment. }}$
13.-. See the note $q^{j-k}$ above.

14. Properly only I; differently below (e.g.) $/, 2$.
15. Undecipherable fragments. - WPrhaps a word ${ }^{x} \leadsto$ If. 5,8.
16. ${ }^{x-y}$ See the note $q^{j-k}$ above, and the facs. on p.11a. - I Corruptly for 90.
17. an Emend



昰药










1.Ler; it does not suit the context.
18. ${ }^{\text {bis }} S_{\text {SE }}$ above p. 10 a, note $q^{j-k}$; the accompane - yong facsimile upresento the misplaced fragment restored to its proper position. On the sight the papyrus has been unequally stretched.
$3^{\text {dee }}$ See the note $1^{\text {thc }}$
$5^{f}$ See p. $10 a$, note $15^{\omega}$. - ${ }^{9}$ Perhaps coupled from $m$ beck $=9$.

19. G. 6, 4.- iV races suit well; cf. $7,8$.
9.. Cf. 28,8; so already Goodurn, in a Ms. note in his copy of the Select Papyri, now in my possession.
 $11 .^{\circ}$
20. The upper portion of these signs has became detached, and is mounted to for torvalds the left.
21. The proper name
22. Not $\stackrel{\otimes}{\infty}$, see the facsimile of Rossi.


Anastasi $16,6-7,1$.

Ia. Read $9 \Delta$, of. $\underset{\sim}{\sim} \Delta$ for $\overrightarrow{90} \Delta \underset{\Delta}{\sim}$ above p. $3 a$, note 4 ?
5.4 镸 an unusual form, of. No on the ostracon Berlin 12337 .
6. (1): thus in my notebook, an unintelligible commotion. - ${ }^{d}$ My notebook gives 17 T
q. Slightly displaced in original.
 15! So facsimile ; the signs now destroyed in original.

16? Mot quite certain, see Rossi's facsimile.
Gardiner, Literary Sexts.
anastasi I 7,2-\%.
Lit. Jexts 13







我前





Anastasi I 7,2-7.
2. Probably so, not $I$.
3. Emend $\stackrel{\leftrightarrow}{\infty}$.
4. See Rossi's facsimile; a comuption of by.
6. Probably for ptri-i.

7: 18 is superfluous.
8.C Certain, but confused by meaningless smudges.
10. An uncertain stroke, see facsimile. - iUnintelligible signs, see facsimile.
11.2 A trace (secs facsimile) which might belong town|lllu. - Read $I \|$ ?

14 . Ain ; the upper porto of the signs, on a separate fragment, are how. - ever very possibly misplaced.
16. The signs Dow are superfluous and may be an attempted etymology of Dhoti, Thoth.
anastasi I7,7-8,5.





 -





Anastasia I $1,7-8,5$.
4. Possibly restore
6. Cf. above 5,3-4; the fist person is made probable by the termination - -2.4 .
12. See facsimile: 'S is very probable, quite uncertain; the left end of a sign seems to suit $\sigma$, and a point may belong to $\rightarrow$ below it.


Anastasi 18，5－6．

1．There is sufficient room for the $m$ ．

3．So apparently the facsimile．
4．A word like 후 s is perhaps lost after nb．

6．：Later added above the line．－＂Ms．－Y $m$ il united because of the homoia： Learchon
7：Quite doubtful．

11．The omission of ${ }^{x}$ in both 0．2．and 0．E．proves their close relationship．

13：Emend 惫地要！。

Anastasi I 8,7-9,1.
Lit. Jexts 16






Anastasi I8,7-91.

1: M is superfluous.
4. 1 I coupled out of $\operatorname{in}$, of above p. $3 a$, note. $3 c$.

10؟ Probably nothing last.
$11 .^{d}-14^{+}$. Bu- $k$-f erroneously repeated.
$12^{2}$. $\underline{K}$ for $\&$ by assimilation with the suffix of $d d-k$.


Gardiner, Literary Vextos.

Anastasi Iq,1-5.
Lit. Jeats 17



(9.3) s*






Anastasi I $9,1-5$

4. Damaged but still recognizable.

5: A meaningless dash.
II. "at end a date "iII" $\gg 01 \pi]_{i: 11 " \text { " third month of winter, day } 2 q \text {." }}$
 on the right of the king. The Envernot of the Town and Vizier To."

14t. Read git - 9 No sign lost before, which is perhaps superfluous.
17. In red above the line.
anastasitq，5－10，2．


级血首












Anastasi I , 5-10,2
4. Hp 8 enoneowsly determined by the entire group 98 hut.
yt A meaningless dash (Fullstrich).
8.: This restoration fills, or very nearly fills, the lacuna ; if. An wast. II $9,7-8$.
10. Original $\equiv \frac{2}{89 \square} ;$ w fist added in red above line, then convected into the text in trace.
12. For is of. above 9,8 .
14.t after sur © has been omitted.


Anastasi 110,2-6.
Lit. Jexts 19





 - ©




Areastasi I 10,2-6.
red


3.' Under o a small sign, perhaps" or s: 密 and $\stackrel{F}{I}$ are practically certain.
$3^{\text {d. Ni }}$ with a vacant space following; this can hardly y be read other wive than $\langle 1\rangle$ "in spite of O.B.
 tail belonging to $\underline{m}$ or $\underline{w}$.
12. It is not clear to what rood in Anastasi this it corresponds.

14 : Read $\stackrel{a_{n}}{4}$, as in 17,5 .
$16^{k}$ II
anastasi I $10,6-11,7$.



















Anastasia 10,6-11,7.

1. Something is lost after spp; the ting trace in pass. is on a misplaced fragment.

2. At least something probably lost. - 9 meaningless signs, as they stand; profs = ably a conation of ifs.
3. A verse-point might be lost after ecch-i. $\quad 3^{e} \approx$ added in red above the line.

5\% a corruption of $\rightarrow$.
$\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { GT } \\ \text {; } \bar{B} \text { nearly certain; teen or stesn should be read, this being of tex } \\ \text { contrasted with nom. }\end{array}\right.$
8. A small low lacuna, which undoubtedly contained a sign; perhaps read $m=P$.
q. See facsimile; $\rightarrow$ is far from certain.
11. O: $\nabla$ as usual like O instead of the Ms. gives 薷.
14. For the determinative cf. 23,3.
17. Illegible traces, see facsimile.
18. $\underline{K}$ and $n$ are so close to ane another that a sign must have stood above them. Gardiner, Literary Jests.

Anastasi I $11,7-12,7$.
Lit. Jexts 21

















Anastasi II1，7－12，7．
1．Sic，but Intr or inv might be understood．－ 12 ；the last sign may be $\Lambda$ ．
2：Very little can be lost．－${ }^{\text {d }}$ ct．（e．g．） 16,7 ．
3．Read iry－k tu m（3）ct．page $1 /$ line 16 above．－
4？．For $\AA^{-1}$ ，EI，ct．p．sa，note $5^{5-g}$ ． beak is probably a

5：Cormpted from $\frac{\Omega}{2}$ ？


6．Suggested by Erman；there is a tace of $\mathbb{N}^{\prime \prime}$ and also of tail of $\sim$ ．

8！Confused traces．
 3，34；the reversal of the groups here perhaps erroneous． －later erased．

Un．cf．note $q^{m}$ ．
12．Much moue probable than $\infty$ ．
 of ti ought to be or
14\％．Pugging traces，see facsimile；not merely 刑．
 $W$ being an easy coumption of $x-2$ due to the influence of $h_{3} f$＂plough＂，and his）bris ＂ebony＂；the absence of a variant with＂makes it importable that holoni was meant．

17．Probably no sign is lost at beginning of line．


Anastasi I $12,7-13,3$.
Lit. Jexts 22








Anastasi I 12,7-13,3.

6: See facsimile; the first te very badly made. - ${ }^{b} \triangleright$ is here omitted.

II: Dictograph due to change of line. - ${ }^{\text {d Read perhaps }}$
13. Emend id d
$15 \pm$. If. as is probable, the reading nht-k twi. "thou yokest thyself" is correct, the dit. will be borrowed from nh et, the foist step to wards the reading of P.T.

Anastasi I 13, 3-6.
Lit. Jexts 23








Anastasi I 19, 3-6.
2. Very badly made, see facsimile. - 'see facsimile.
9. There is a hole after $\frac{i}{1}$ hut it shape and A Probably read nsti-i as P. T.; ct. above 4, \%. size suggest that nothing is lost.

5\% Read msct(w) with P.T.
6. See facs, perhaps in part the longing to the earlier eased lett. -

The $\leq$ is small, and may belong to a t see facts. later added $p \beta$; there is hardly rom in the lacuna for $[\cdots]$

8: Probably here for $\$$ I', as in sh-k(wi) below lis.
10. B $^{k}$; approximately thus, ie. $\stackrel{\dot{-1}}{10}$ converted from 10.

12? Confused and injured signs.
13.' The line is shatter than the others, hut probably nothing is lost at the end.
$14^{m}$. It is very doubtful whether $m$ dr stood at the beginning of the line.


Anastasia I 13,6-14,2.

1. Very probable; the original is here in disorder.
2. Without a dot, ie. like it
3. The other lines show that a word must ${ }^{c}$, the is mitten aver 11 have been lost here. If not in, emend ss's "quickly"، cF. 14, 6.
4. A lowlocuna, in which it appears f $X$ stands above a deleted sign. something must have stood.
5. Iou ~.
6. The restoration may be a little too big for the lacuna; perhaps omit it.

11: The upper part of there signs has become detached, and been pushed too for to night.
13. An. I reads mow wot immediately after ter, which makes some sense: but it is probable that the archetype had the words here given by P.T.
14 ? See facsimile; emend an $9 \Delta$ : cf. p. $26 a$, rote 4 .
15. at top on left of lacuna, a trace like the corner of $D$ or $D$.
16. The lowest of the plural strokes is lengthened to represent $\qquad$
Gardiner, Literary Seats.

Anastasi I $14,2-5$.
Lit. Jeacts 25










Anastavi I 14,2-5.

1. Emend mnfy-t; the same corruption below 1\%,s.
 of $\operatorname{in}$; the following $3=$ is obviously derived from 300 ; see AnsI.
2. The hieratic sign here, (see above p. $20 a$, note 11 ") does double duty for er and for $\nabla$. 4. Q here is an obvious and easy coumption of n. The facsimile gives a slanting stroke at bottom of the preceding iI', which may be the last trace of 100 . The reading of $a_{n \text {. I is }}$ [clearly sect. st. Read [clearly monet.
3. Small like o.
in $^{h} 0$, coup for $\theta^{*}$ s. P.T.
4. There may have been a numeral ( 60 ?) before hr, as the lacunae at the beginnings of lines grow bigger towards bottom of page, see esp. P. T, 10.11. However the stroke in the pres. =ceding isis quite unusual, it here a determinative.
10.' The abbreviated form, which is tare in $k_{\text {as over a deleted ass? }}$ ? literary texts. See facsimile. -
$12!\%$, for $\overline{0}$ or , tut like n?.
$14^{\text {m }}$ For 90. - $^{n}$ See facsimile, and cf. next line of P.T.
5. Read $\sum_{\infty}^{\infty}$ ct. abrue note $5^{f}$.
6. My notebook gives ; possibly there was room for im-sn before mh , see above note 8 ?


Arnastasi I 14, 5-15,1.

2: Indeterminate shape, almost like II, see facs.; clearly derived firm wi l.

6. We wrongly omitted.
 cline.
10. So too above p.25.l. 12 .

12:" Obscure traces, probably to be interpreted thus. - The stroke after the lacuna is mote like 1 i and the lacuna is small for [rigi.
13. The word, ct. 14,3 above. ${ }^{m} C 4.16,7$, a spelling intermediate between is $(8)$ and 14." Added above the line.
16. I saw 4 , a corruption of \& ? - ${ }^{\beta}$ P. T. Ends abruptly with a short line.
anastasi I $15,1-16,2$.



















Anastasi I 15，1－16，2．

2．The dash of as is visible in a trace．
st．For this curiously mitten expression compare the facsimile．
6．Ae possibly $\&$ ．
7．The Ms．has a clear k，not（e．g．）I．

10．＇Original properly est，as in inc，below 19,14 ；conversely see above p． $2 a$ ，note $13^{i}$ ．

14．f．a made large like $\rightarrow$ ，as optime below or above long signs．- Not room for $\mathbb{Z}$ ．

17．There seems just enough room far a short low sign beporesp．－＇th is superfluous．
18．Original ${ }^{k}$ ．${ }^{C}$ By error for 评．

Anastasi I 16，2－17，3．
Lit．Vexts 28







三gh






二行电


Cunastasi I $16,2-17,3$.
3. Emend 18 .
4. Read In. - "Here there has been an obscure corruption.
6. $\underset{\sim}{2}$; evidently a corruption, perhaps of $\frac{5}{6}$. - So wrongly for \&
76. CF. above 14,1 .
 often in this word. -
9. See the facsimile, which is exact; perhaps ?? - "For Ex, see p. 25a, notes 5 ? $15^{\circ}$.

10! The determmatives $\equiv \square \square$ are wrong.
11. Original probably to be emended into $\longrightarrow 40 .{ }^{n}{ }^{n} O_{2} \xrightarrow{\cdots 1}$ ?
12. $2_{2} 111 / \pi$ ?
13. Mistake for $\mathbb{I}$.

15\% Ewongly omitted.
17. Emend pd 18 avid.ct.p.26.l.2. - stead Nan cc.1,1.
18.' Emend mnfy-t; the same cooption above 14.2.

Gardiner, Literary Teats.

Anastasi I17，9－18，1．











四瓦 心






Anastasia I17.9-18,1.
 the context clearly cannot infer to a quay like otimmamat ( $R-h-n$ )
4. See fuesimule: the Ms. apparently had originally 2"?, later convected into 999. The latter tiguene suits the total (1900 $+620+1600+880=5000)$, but it seems likely that a
number hes fallen vul after $M-5-\omega-5$. number hes fallen out after MYs- $-{ }^{-5}$. .
5.d a number is probably last, see last note. - Either omit 1 son insert $\stackrel{\Delta}{\otimes}$ after it.
 [anastiris.

16. It this be the correct reading the second 93 is crowded, which might accel un for
 else; oi can the true reading te nom?
18.' Ot II (?!); one would however then expect 1 II.

Anastasi 18．1－19，1．
Lit．Jeats 30












个瓜积明，





Anastase I 18．1－19．1．

2．Probably a dash serving to complete the line（Füllstich）．

7．Probably a dittograph owing to change of line．

10？For the omission of $r$ of．distr 15,6 ；there is a trace under／．
11．Ms．gives The－See facsimile；the reading who is certain．－${ }^{\text {sthen}}$ superfluous，as ［often
12．Abri－a spot of red ink；since another such，tut smaller，occurs above 之，this is probably fortuitous，not an isolated verse－point．

14．Above st s a misplaced fragment ，the true place of which is difficult to locate ；tut of．Below note in！
－a deleted sign adjoins the stroke 1 is tace．．

16．So Too Max Muller，O．L．2．I382；合，is almost curtain；in place of 1 舞 it would be possible to read 1它，but this latter hardly fills the lacuna．

17 ．Apter the stoke is omitted．
17．after 10 small and puzzling traces the usual reading $\mathcal{H - x . t}$ is wrong． are visible，not suiting cither＇ Possibly the misplaced fragment of note $14^{\mathrm{h}}$ belongs here，in which case the auer．$\leftrightarrows$ reading might be

Anastasi I $19,1-20,2$.
Lit. Jexts 31



















Anastasi I 19,1 －20，2．

1．Small，but not like o．－Emend 10.

5．Like ；however $\infty$ is certainly to be read．
6．Really $\underset{\sim}{N 0}$ in the Ms．，as in sin 15,6 etc．－＂Ms．E．in the preceding clause read

yo．So wrongly for 品 $1 \infty$ ；contrast $21,5.6$ ．
89．You the traces after hr see the facsimile．－${ }^{h}$ Ct． $24,4 \mathrm{H}$ ．
9：－A trace high up，which cannot being to

12！．Emend m－r－k－9｜－t．
13．For the traces see facsimile．－${ }^{n}$ Elsewhere we find $p-k$ m－x－i $(20,3)$ ；the can horses not be emended here．

15．＇See facsimile，now partially destined；hath is a more＂Ks．bones＂is not a possible restore， probable reading than $\mathrm{hn}_{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{n}_{\mathrm{n}}$ ．－ －nation，because－twee indicates a
$15^{9} \mathrm{Sic}$ ；but the vet should be spelt with ，not $\infty$ ，st feminine word．
16．KNt．alone mould not suffice to fill the lacuna．F Nom a final examination of chis passage it veers possible that the preceding signs stand on a misplaced fragment of papyrus．

Anastasi 120,2-21,3.
Lit. Jexts 32



















Anastasi 120,2-21,3.

2:. Jtaces of a vertical sign, not $P$.
4. There is nothing rave lost.

5: An almost certain tace of the tail of $\underline{m}$.
7. Erroneously mitten for $90 \equiv 9=$ in co

11 . cf. below $21,1$.
14. Not room for
$17^{g}$ Read $=$

Gardiner, diterary Jests.

Anastasi I2,3-22,5.
Lit. Jexts 33



















Anastasi I $21,3-22,5$ ．

1．a The misplaced fragment at the beginning of the line，consisting of 9 followed by the trace of a vertical stroke，very possibly belongs to who here．

$3^{c-d}$ is nearly，and the preceding $\frac{10}{}$ quite，certain．We should probably readmithoo ivy Burcharile no． 288.
4．Perhaps emend $1 \Xi$ for $1 \triangleq$ ．
J．Burchardt（n o．636）rightly transposes and reads Qukius 9（ines．－Ms．$\sim$ ．

8．Invent 18 after imi－wii（？）．

10：Swtwt；the second $\underline{s}$ is superfluous．－${ }^{k}$ Ps must be milted because of $\underline{n b}$ ．
品去化
；the final $\underline{w}$ is very unlikely，but an alternative $m-n$ Read $\triangle 2$ hard to find．

15．Wrongly for $\triangle \infty$ ；the mistake is perhaps due to being inserted above the line in the manurcipt form which the scribe of AnastasiI copied．

17．$G$ is derived from a misunderstood hieratic in（dat．of mi），which the scribe understory）
 18．＇The upper portion of $L$ is displaced in original and facsimile． ［admonitions．

Anastasi I 22,5-23,6.



















1. would also be a possible reading.

; the upright sign, which is a correction, is not $\beta_{\text {nat }} \frac{y}{x} \eta$.
2. Emend ${ }^{9 n-A}$ c. cf .22,7 end.
 correction of shensi.


3. 焦. probably superfluous; ct. p. 13 a, note $7^{f}$; p. 30a, note $11^{f}$.

Anastasi I 23，6－24，5．
Lit．Vexts 35










人，

道随阳




Anastasi I23，6－24，5．


8．A tiny dot，high up；probably fortuitous．－＇Probably so，and certainly not＇．
$10^{f}$ Sic；a comption of ${ }^{2}$ ．

12？．Read 剡；the two signs resemble one another closely，whence the transposition．


14：The is made quite small，almost like s，above the small sign＂．
15．Emend $\frac{1}{\wedge}$ 目 $\%$ ${ }^{\text {E Dictograph }}$ ．
$16^{\mathrm{m}} .1 \supset$ is corrected out of $1 \leftrightarrows$ ．
17．Emend $\stackrel{5}{5}$ ．

Anastasi I $24,5-25,7$.



















Anastasi I 24，5－25，7．

1．Emend ${ }^{1} \times \rightarrow \infty$ ；the corruption of $\rightarrow$ into 9 is not rare in hieratic．

3. Read $g-\omega-t \cdot n a \rightarrow 90$ of．Roller $9,2=$ Anast．II 3．1．

4：Read $\sim$ 亿衾。
5．Read 90s 是 Pf Af．p．21a，note $3^{e}$ ；p． $32 a$ ，note $y^{d}$
$14^{9}$ ．Ms．has for cos．sun 25，6；p．2a，note $19^{i}$ ；etc．
$16^{k}$ ．See note 149 ．
17：Without $P$ ，evidently corrupt．
18．A ligature as in 28，4．
Gardiner，Literary Sexts．
anastasi 125,7-26,7.



四网














Anastasi I 25.7-26,7. after sf below. Oe perhaps AB ? always in chis word.
2.. The papyrus is unduly squeezed together at this point.
4. Corrupted out of 2. - See note $2^{e}$ above.
,sf. Dittagraph.
7.
9. The traces (see facs.) look rather like the left end of IFFy; this would however not suit the context.
12. Emend ロ90 $A$.

15? Certainly so, not in .
16. The first $P$ has a small meaningless appendage at the bottom, see facsimile.
anastasi I $26,7-27,7$.
Lit: Jexts 38

 -1
















Anastasi I 26, 7-27,7.

1: An upright sign; might possibly be $B_{\text {on }} 1$.
3. Dictograph.

6. There appears to be room for sod.
7. A misplaced fragment covers the right half of m. - ${ }^{f}$ Only a small sign lost.
 $q^{i}$ No left of a slanting trace (see face.) which might possibly belong to ti x.
13. Omit -.- ${ }^{\ell}$ in is a comuption of 1 .
$17^{m}$. This a is probably superfluous.
$18^{n}$. For $\eta$ emend of or d $9 P$.

Anastasi I27,7-28,5.













二ffleg




Anastasi 127,7-28,5.
I. - is convected out of a tall erased sign; stilt is probably a corruption of 2t. for $\bar{y} \equiv$ emend 1 ?
5. The hinder arm of this sign has been omitted.
6. The Mss reading is perhaps a blending of two different readings is in and 0 品䈎?
"!. Emend Ar,

14: An obscure completion.
15? should probably be omitted.
$17^{k} \cdot M_{s}=-i \bar{Z}$ is superfluous, of. 6,7 .
18. Read ${ }^{k}+$

Anastasi I28,5-8.










$\qquad$

Anastasi 128，5－8．

3．For this sign see Mölle，Hieratische Paläographie II，no． 505 footnote．

7．A corruption of mi 票190 $玉$ as in Sinuhe B．
8．Emend 11.

10．Not＜compat＞I．．－THere a fragment bearing a quite illegible sign，probably miss ＂placed．The final sign might also be $\Lambda$ ；if $\omega$＂，＂tr be far＂is meant，we should expect as determinatives $\underset{A}{N}$ not

Gardiner，Literary Texts．

Roller 1,1-7.
Lit. Texts 41
2. A collection of model letters,

Transcribed from Pap. Holler (Pap. Berlin so43) and cutin other Mss.
a. The equipment of a Syrian expedition.














Roller $1,1-\%$.

1:. Before 1.1 an unknown number of pages are lost.

3t. Or large a? Or else a conuption of or kp ?
; if the reading $T$ is correct, that sign is here different from the forms elsewhere on this page.
6. S small like D. - 'She plural strokes are omitted.
7. to is the sign before 10 may be the remains of an erroneous 8? unlike the other examples of $a$ on this page.
9. Made like ज्ञ, see above p. 37 a, note it.

11.t Emend $m \cdot r-k-\leq q b>-t$, as in Anast.IM. 7 (see above $p .31 a$, note $12 \%$

12? Dittography.
19. Probably so to be read, but mitten $\mathrm{F}_{\mathrm{s}}$. of. above note 9 .

Koller 1,7-2,4.
Lit. Jexts 42





t. Warningo to an idle scribe.


 (



Roller 1,7-2,4.
2. Low down a trace, possibly a small 'Tingly mounted; only a tiny trace , $\rightarrow$; anyhow not a part of 三. - of the first I remains. sc. For -sn emend TMIP ?
4. Like 0 .
 ${ }^{x} \rightarrow 1010$ 人
8. A meaningless stroke (Füllstrich).

Koller 2,4-7.
Lit. Jeacts 43












Roller 2,4-7.
3. There is no trace of an I, nor has this sign been mitten and for some reason deleted.
6. IW is lacking not only in Rotter, tut in the similar passage anat I6,6.
8. There is no In before pe, though there is a fortuitous black speck.


Holler 2,7-3,1.

3a after $2(3) p(\omega)$ the traces $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { are still visible. }\end{array}\right.$
6. The lacuna is tor large for imf only.
8. The Top line of the page alone is preserved, and this only in part. However see below note is?
9. Small like $0, \alpha, 2,1$ - - after ${ }^{3 \prime}$ one or more signs entirely mashed out, sure for a horizontal stope at bottom; ${ }^{2}$ is nearly certain $10 \pm$ at top a trace mich suits 8. - ${ }^{9}$; the reading is far form certain.

$12!: \leq$; these traces do not suit the reading $n \underline{m} \underline{m} I$ very well.
$13^{\circ}$. The void $三 \pi /$ "I mitten as a connection above Qnast:T "Only one till sign, 5,1 probably belongs here.perhaps [ $\beta$ ].

Gardiner, diterayy Sexts.






造 an
c. A letter concerning Nubian tribute.

1. II ; contrast In dbw 1,8. - GAere a delated P, which apporently does 2: $\$, 1 .
wather like the det. of $d t$ in anaot. II $17,8$.
II. Pechaps righthy imterporeted by Möllen (Palägraphie II no iai note) as a contraction of Id "chaptes" seation"; hut certainly understood ly the N.K. scribe as a..
$14^{2-f}$. Ior the probable sije of the lacuna, see lines 4.5.

2. Hor $\simeq 0$ emend lIlo.
3. The astr. had clearly a version quite different from that of Roller: the lacuna is protaly
 but the med for "garrison" is iwcyt not iwyt.


9!. Pertly no mere "Fullstrich: - "Badly mounted; not ing.
12. Astr. had clearly a longer. list of animinals; tor the length of lacuna ct. ll. 4.5.
13. The hieratic sign serves at once for and for $\bar{\square}$; see above p. 25a, note 4. - Emend $\bar{\pi}$.
 at the beginning of $l . \%$. Impossible to connect with text of Roller.-

Koller 3， $7-5,1$

 ー




 －天


前个





 possibly there waw an $m$ between $\alpha$ and $1 \cdots \cdots$. [行德].
2.' Only a small sign lost.
3. Emend $\leftarrow=8$ " $b \pi$.
6. Pt appears to be superfluous.
$8^{f}$.


10?. The scanty space hardly admits of any other restaration.
$/^{h-i}$ Perhaps dittography.- EOIIS not improbably a corrupt group.

16 . $^{\ell}$ this word is a correction; the $m$ is above a deleted $\rightarrow$.
$17^{m}$ Dittograph. - ${ }^{-}$on a displaced fragment.
$18^{\circ}$ a is written exactly like man; so to be be w 5,7.

Koller 5,1-7. Lit. Jexts 48





 Hant
d. An order to make preparations for Pharaok's avival.






2：Read nco＂$\triangle$ ．

St．Evidently for $\stackrel{\infty}{\infty} \perp$ ，see Admonitions $p .67$.
6．The position of 登 makes it certain that a sign stood beneath it．
y．There is 100 m for the $\operatorname{sign} \mathbb{Z}$ ，which the serike forgot to add．
get Emend $\leqslant$ ．

10．The section begins abruptly thus without further introduction；the words显天足
$15^{\text {h }}$ a＿is written quite like m，as above 4，8．

Gardiner，Literary texts．

Koller 5,7-8
$\qquad$

Roller $5,7-8$

3: The reading of Inst. IV is clearly superior. - \& wrongly omitted.
y! The text was probably continued on other pages cut off from the Pap. Waller.
8. The continuation occupies the entice remainder of anat. IV down to 17,9, where the mititing suddenly stops.

Additions and Corrections.


P.21. line 2; the lacuna at the end of 11,7 should be omitted; in is nearly

P32, line 18; a note om "E| 1 B should be added, stating that this is a wrong writing for至房.


Date Due



[^0]:    1) According to Möller Ennene was a scribe of the Memphite school. The same would doubtless hold good of the writer of Anastasi $I$.
    2) This is sometimes referred to in my notes upon the text as "the facsimile".
    3) The proofs of this edition were finally compared with the original in September 1910.
[^1]:    1) Also obtainable separately at the Librairie A. Franck in Paris under the title Examen Critique du Livre de M. Chabas intitulé Voyage d'un Egyptien en Syrie, en Phénicie, en Palestine, \&c. au XIVme siècle avant notre ère.
    2) See particularly p. II of the Critique. Brugsch is certainly right in translating the numerous sentences of the type $b w s m-k$, bw ptrì- $k$, not as rhetorical questions (so Chabas and Erman), but as simple negative statements "tu n'es pas parti" "tu n'as pas vu".
[^2]:    1) Ndnd-vi only here; perhaps read $n d-v i$, as the Petrie Ostracon (O. P.) may have had; cf. too (Lit. Texts) p. 4, 1. 6. 7.
    2) The goddess of writing.
    3) Thoth of Hermopolis Magna.
    4) Variant $O . P$. "his hall".
    5) O.P.obviously better "teacher of subordinates".
    6) $O . P$. continues differently thus: "[skilled in(?)] his profession; knowing the secrets of heaven and earth . . . . . ; there is none who repels(?) . . . . . . . in writing. First of his fellows in the midst of his neighbours; chief of his contemporaries, they are not equai [to him]; teacher of subordinates in the office of writing; his merit is proved in every stripling. Lamp ......" (end).
    7) Literally: "one makes sure of him for every stripling", i. c. he is a successful teacher of the young; irt $m m m$ cf. Welle, Sinai 63,5. In $O . P$. this sentence more appropriately follows $s b 3 y n$ hyiw-'.
    8) That pr hr d-tf is not to be taken with hwownd ("every stripling who passes through his hands") seems probable from $O . P . H r$ should perhaps be omitted.
    9) it $d-t$ "to apprehend, take stock of (one's own) body", an Egyptian phrase for "to have one's wits about one", cf. Pyr. 2084; Leiden V 93; Urk. IV 160. - The preposition hir is superfluous.
    10) Emend $h i r-s$ referring to $s 3 \gamma-t$ ?
    i1) The reading itn is rather uncertain.
    11) Reading sphr, cf. 12,1.
    12) 'Im-t, 3bw-t "charm of appearance" "loveliness of appearance"; cf. esp. A nast.III 4,$12 ;$ Ostr. Brit.
[^3]:    1) For $i w m 3^{2} t i w$, an cpithet of Abydos, see below p. 15, 1. 5 ; Harhotep 93. 506; Totb. ed. Nav., 17, 24.
    2) Brs-t, Belbeis on the border of the desert in the Bubastite nome, sec Naville, Mound of the Jew p. 22. 23.
    3) The region of Bubastis, cf. Br., Dict. Géogr. 381; Proc. S. B. A. 13,36.
    4) The name of Hori's rival was read Nht-st $p$ by Erman; the version of $O . B . N$. finally disproves this view. For $m s^{\text {s }}$ nht cf. below 17,3; Anast. II 5, 1; Urk. IV 654. 659, there varying with msin $n$ nhtw, 654. 655.
    5) Variant $O . B . N$. - "Beloved of all men, without fault, charming, pleasant and praiseworthy (?) in the sight of others."
    6) M tnw $n b$ "of all sorts", cf. Koller 4,7; Harris $I$ 72,5; Rec. de Trav. 30, 216.
    7) This and the following epithets are lacking in O. B.N.
[^4]:    i) The boat of Osiris; Chassinat has given a good collection of references Rec. de Trav. 16, 121.
    2) $O . Q . C$. adds: "mayest thou be pure, may thy flesh become divine before the brothers Horus and Seth, may Thoth and Harakhti(?) carry thy soul aloft."
    3) W-imn only here; a name for the place of embalmment.
    4) I. e. the sheen of the sun in his nightly journey througl the Netherworld. $W(3) w(3 w)$, see Br., Wörterb. 324; Piehl, Inscr. I 118.
    5) Nun is the god of the waters; Nwt in Anast. $I$ is a wrong reading, as the suffix of $t h b-f$ shows.
    6) The "water of 7 . ells (depth)" seems to have been proverbial, cf. Anast. IV ib, 8.
    7) For hnm in Anast. I the duplicate O. Q. C. has the rare verb h h $n p(i)$ "to breathe"; cf. Rec. de Trav. 27, 29; good examples in the Theban tomb of Nbwenf (unpublished).
    8) The goddess of weaving.
    9) Nepri is the corn-god; for the connection

[^5]:    1）Brk is akin to the Hebrew ハニーニ，see Burcn． no． 360 for references．

    2）I．e．probably Amenemope＇s rival，the author of the book．

    3）See above p．9＊，n． 8.
    4）The sense may be＂in order to get a serenth scribe＂．Without some such statement there would be a curious contradiction between the mention of the six scribes in the preceding sentence and the naming of a serenth below in 6，4．

    5）Sd－t is found again only in 7,8 ；the sense may be＂columns＂，＂pages＂，＂sections＂（cf．the German ＂Spalte＂）．

    6）For hsy and shwri see above p．9＊，n．3； $h r$ is possibly the common ellipse for $h \gamma d d$（see Erman，Aeg．Gramm．2 §380）．The different kind of aid rendered by the seven scribes is here detailed．Three apparently assist in the actual com－ position of the letter，one suggesting complimentary things，and two supplying insulting or unpleasant phrases（cf． $4,7.8$ for the mixed nature of Amene－ mope＇s letter）．A fourth scribe contents himself with criticism，while a fifth is lavish of encouraging words． The sixth and serenth scribes busy themselves with the practical task connected with the letter（see p． $9^{*}$ ， n．6），namely the fetching of grain from the granary：

    7）P ky＂the other＂must refer to the fourth scribe，but the presence of the definite article is disconcerting．

    8）For the formation of ordinal numbers with prefined $p$－ititi，see Sethe in A．Z． 38 （1900），144－145．

    9）$R$ at the end of the line should perhaps be omitted．S St－twy in 6,4 shows that a word for＂corn＂ or the like is lost in the lacuna．

    10）The sense is guessed．

[^6]:    
    2) $K m(3)$, the Coptic s.m, only here in lateEgyptian.
    3) Lit. "the dread of the Good God did not take him away". "The Good God" is a constant epithet of the reigning Pharaoh. It is probably meant that this lazy official is now safe from the resentment of the king his master.
    4) Swg is the Coptic $\operatorname{co\sigma }$ "stultus", "insanus", see Griffith, Rylands Papyri, p. 232 note 12 for the demotic equivalent. In late-Egyptian, cf. swgtiwn mi spdw "ye were senseless as geese", Mar., Karnak 52, 17; nlen swg, iwti it-f "a witless child, without a father", Metternich stele 196. I70 (also I7I. 201 not so clearly); $m s{ }^{\text {č }}$ swg "a foolish expedition", Unamon 2, 23.22. The comparative "more foolish" is here doubtful.
    5) In the papyrus the verse-point precedes $p h s b$ inw instead of following it; but as all the other names quoted in this passage are accompanied by titles, it is probably misplaced. Hpt perhaps imperative of the verb studied in Brugsch, Wörterb.949; Suppl.8ıi.
    6) $T-n(r)-h$ an unknown word; $t-r-h$, differently spelt, occurs in the sentence "do not $\sin (? t-r-h)$ against ( $m$ ) an aged man or woman when they are old" Petrie Ostracon in. Burchardt's identification with $\quad$ İv "pardon" (no. 1155) gives no suitable sense.
    7) Hpš, cf. below 26, 4 ; Anast. IV 11,2 ; elsewhere only in the titles "overseer of the workshop ( $!m-m$ ) of the armoury of Pharaoh" Pap. Bologna 1094, 1,3 ; and "scribe of the workshop of the armoury of Pharaoh" ibid. 1, 9; 3, 5; 4, 1; 5, 1; 7, 10.

[^7]:    1) $F 3$ m "to reward with". cf. d'Orbiney 14,8 ; 15,5. - Smeg. comparcs $n b$ nsp 3, Harris $I$ 78. 5.
    2) I. e. Thoth, cf. I, 2 and note thereon.
    3) Sarcastic comfort seems here to be offered to Amencmope; such rivals at least as these he will be able to overcome.
    4) Emend nn srwi? - The meaning of this sentence is very obscure.
    5) Mi-pw, a mode of address found again below 14, 8; 18, 1; 26,9; and Anast. III t, 4. Doubtless rightly explained by P1enl, Proc. S.13.A.13, 239-240 as derived from mi-pw "who is it?" The word is used like the Arabic فلات.
    6) A royal prince of the age of Mycerinus renowned for his wisdom and literary achievements. See Erman, Die Märchen des I'apyrus W'estcar I 18-19.
    7) $11-n(r)-f$, only hace.
    8) $R$ sndia- $\}$, cf. above 5,4 .
    9) $D d t$, unknown word.
    10) $\times$ - $/$, only here; perhaps connected with the obscure word gol, Anast. I' 7, 2.
[^8]:    1) M! ib only here exactly in this sense; but the phrase is used of having confidence in something asserted or believed; see my Inscription of Mes p. 15, n. 23.
    2) Variant $P, T$. "thou art keen of wit".
    3) I. e. able, by solving the problem, to save the reputation of his colleagues. - Gm with object, closely followed by $r$ with an infinitive, is an idiom with various slight shades of meaning e. g. "to find someone able", "ready", "competent" to do something. Cf. below 23, $2 ; 28,8$; Pap. Leiden 370, recto 16 ; Anast. V 9, 4; 17, 7; Turin Lovesongs 1, 14.
    4) Hitw might mean either (1) "pedestals", "steps", or (2) "threshing-floors"; neither of these senses is here suitable. What we clearly need is a word for "measurements", and perhaps the original reading was $n y-f h 3 y$ "its measurements"; for $h 3 y \mathrm{cf}$. Daressy, Ostraca 25262 (Cairo); Pap. Turin 7I, I (omitted in facsimile).
    5) Amenemope makes no answer, and the subject is dismissed in silence.
    6) Š̌d, yovツr fenestra; see Hölscher, Das hohe Tor von Medinet Habu, p. 49-50 for a good archaeological illustration.
[^9]:    1) $\operatorname{Sin}$ (written like, but a totally different word from, $\sin$ "to hasten") means "to wait" cf. Simuhe R 21; Sphinx stele 11; sin $n$ "to wait for" cf. d'Orbiney 3, 1; Anast. IV 5, I; Pap. Turin 136, 2; 68, col. 3, 3. 12; Pap. Leiden 345 verso G 4, 2. 3.4.7.
    2) If the sentences are here rightly divided, imi w $3-t$ must mean "prepare the way" for the crownprince, who would be unable to start without the men who are to drag the obelisk from the quarry. But it is not certain that $\underline{l} n$ "approach" is here an imperative; $n$ might be equivalent to $i n$, and $\underline{l n}$ predicate "make way, the crown-prince approaches". But the meaning would then be very obscure.
    3) 'Intnt "to linger", "to hesitate", see $A . Z .45$, (1908), 61.
    4) Them, i. e. the number of men required; or, the solution of the problem.
    5) Ms reflexively Westcar 10, 12; Turin, statue of Haremheb 15; R., I.H. $223=$ Sall. III 7, 6; in the imperative as here, cf. Pyr. 586. 645. 1657; Rochem., Edfou II pl. 30 c ; L., D. IV 57 a.
    6) Read $m s-k$ tw(?); for similar corruptions see the critical note p. 36 a , note 5 f .
    7) The writer appears to be offering his help, alleging that he himself was once_in similar straits and
[^10]:    1) Regierungsbaumeister Hölscher, in whose forthcoming book on the temple of the Second Pyramid a plan and section of the ramp will be found, tells me that the breadth of the compartments averages about $3 \cdot 5$ metres, i. e. approximately 7 cubits.
    2) Measured at the top; the thickness at the bottom would be 27.5 cubits, owing to the batter, if my hypothesis (see below) be correct.
    3) This gives a slant of 8.2 cubits in every 100 ; that of the ramp leading to the pyramid of Ne-user-Re was equal to 7,75 cubits in every 100 (Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Ne-user-re, p. 44).
[^11]:    1) For the space between the walls, the interior, we should expect linw rather than $h r i-i b$.
    2) The sign $h$ in the Ms. is probably a corruption of $d b^{2}$.
    3) The Egyptians usually expressed this angle by a term sted, which states the number of spans divergence from the perpendicular for a height of one cubit; see the article by Borchardt, $A . Z .31$ (1893), 15.
    4) It is not absolutely essential that there should have been an end-wall at the top, if the ramp was built against some other structure.
    5) The literal translation would be "with a batter of 15 cubits".
    6) See Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahu-re, p. 39. Unfortunately my hypothesis was framed too late to be submitted to Professor Borchardt's criticism; Herr Hölscher finds no technical difficulties in it.
[^12]:    1) The size of the brick is assumed to be known.
    2) The obelisk is thus far taller than any that has been preserved. Petrie has however calculated that the Constantinople obelisk may have measured 172 feet in height (see Petrie, History Il ${ }_{132}$ ); in the Northampton stele two obelisks of 108 cubits each ( $=185$ feet) are mentioned (Urk. IV 425).
    3) The word occurs once again on an ostracon in my own possession (no. 3) giving a list of objects of wood; among the latter is $p$ twet $m$ h-t $m$ mitt ty-f $d b y-t$ "the statue of wood and also its pedestal", $d b y-t$ naturally being determined with the sign for wood. $D b y-t$ is probably to be distinguished from $d b-t$ "brick", though the latter is occasionally used of "blocks" of stone.
    4) Apparently only here.

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[^13]:    1) It is probable that the $h$ after $m h$ I should be emended into $d b^{c}$. The batter of the obelisk is quite unusually steep.
    2) One may also compare Bonomis theory of the manner in which the colossus known as the Vocal Memnon was erected (A.Z. 45 [1908], 32-34); however Borchardt is of the opinion that sand cannot have been used in that case.
[^14]:    1) Hieratische Paläographie II p. 2-3.
    2) On the whole subject of the Schulhefte or Schïlerhandschriften, see Erman, Aegypten 446-448.
    3) On the whole subject of the Schulhefte or Schïlerhandschriften, see Erman, Aegypten $446-448$.
    4) Purely calligraphical corrections, such as that at the top of p. 3 of Anastasi $I$, seem sufficient proof of a Schülerhandschrift. - For dates see Erman, loc. cit.; they occur very frequently both in papyri and on ostraca.
[^15]:    1) The best-known of these are Anastasi II. III. IV. V; Sallier I, in the British Museum; Pap. Bologna 1094; Pap. Leiden 348, recto.
    2) It is not always the name of the pupil which stands first, as may be seen by comparing Anast. III I, II with ibid. 3, 9. It is curious that the names of the scribes in Anast. III are Amenemope and Paibes as in Koller; the papyri do not seem to be written by the same hand.
[^16]:    1) The section opens with the usual epistolary formula $r n t i$ "to wit", which is best omitted in translating.
    2) Not "books"; for sš "to write" so determined cf. Anast. V 8,3; Inscr. of Mes Ni4.
    3) The expression $m h \cdot k \quad m \quad d w i-k$, lit. "thou seizest (or "art full of") thy legs", seems to occur only here; Anast. IV has a superfluous $m$ before $m h$.
    4) $T-h \cdot b$ only here; the sense is quite proble-
[^17]:    1) $T-\gamma-k$ does not seem to occur elsewhere, unless the name hitherto read $3 \cdot r-k$ (Urk. IV 796; de Morgan, Cat. d. Mon. I 67) should really be read with the tive-bird.
    2) Bh-t, cf. Harris $I$ 21 a, 2; Harris 500, recto $3, \mathrm{II}$; the phrase $l$ l $b s$ bh-t "to carry (?) the fan" cf. Davies, Amarna VI 20; Anast. III 8,6= Anast. IV 16,5; L., D. III 2 i 8 c .
    3) Erman regards the words "high of feathers" as an attribute of the fans; this appears to me less probable.
    4) $K \cdot v \cdot m \cdot t$ occurs again only in the description of Negroes Anast. III 8,7 = Anast. IV 16,6 "their $k-r-m-t$ are upon ( $r$ ) their hands".
